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ABSTRACT

Twelve workpapers on the teaching of English as a second language presented during the 1971-72 school year on the University of California at Los Angeles campus are compiled in this booklet. They include: (1) "The Designs for Intermediate and Advanced Second-Language Classes, " (2) "The Universalist Hypothesis: Some Implications for Contrastive Syntax and Language Teaching," (3) "British and American Intelligibility for Non-Native Students of English," (4) "Language Allocation and Language Planning in a Developing Nation," (5) "Some Studies in Language LEARNING,- (6) "Produced by People: An Experiment in Film Making," (7) "Controversies in Linguistics and Language Teaching," (8) "Walter Mitty: The All-American Hero," (9) "Objectives in TELF/TESL," (10) "Integrative and Discrete-Point Tests at UCLA," (11) "A Schema for Pedagogical Insights," and (12) "Bilingual Education in Culver City." The final section contains abstracts of 39 degree theses focusing on the teaching of English as a second language. (RL)

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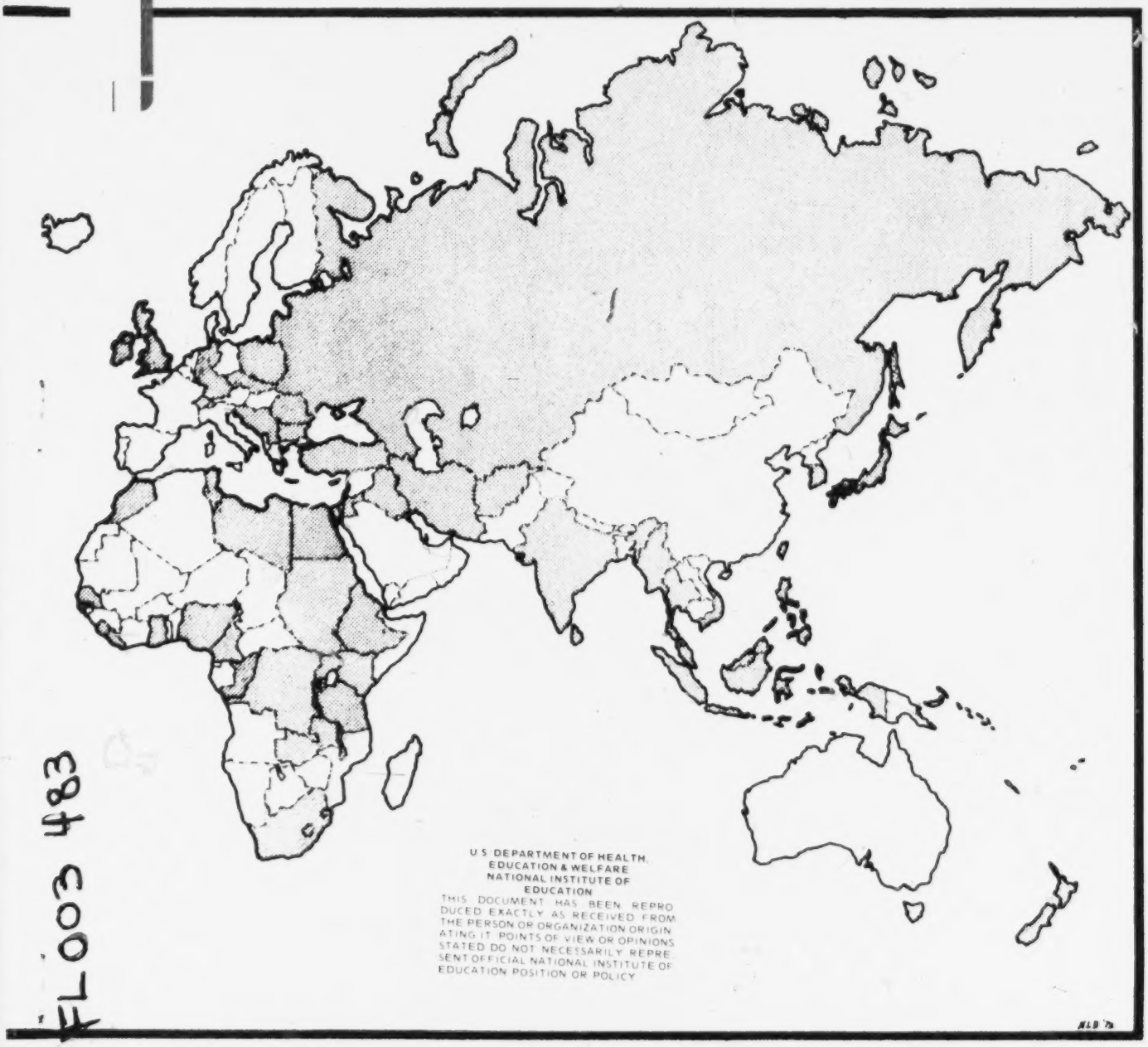
Teaching English as a Second Language
Volume VI



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June 1972

PREFACE

Workpapers, Volume VI, have come out a little later than usual. Perhaps this reflects the difficulty, which increases each year, of finding adequate support to continue what we hope is a tradition-- and a means of keeping in touch with our colleagues and former students. Its lateness also reflects delays caused by computerizing the printing in order to cut the costs. Using the UCLA Format Manipulation System, Earl Rand prepared this volume.

In addition to our regular staff, this volume counts as contributors two visiting professors who spent part of the 1971-1972 school year on the UCLA campus. We sincerely appreciate their workpapers and the courses they offered while in residence.

The cover of Volume VI shows the extent of UCLA activities and involvement in the world of TESL. The outline map of the world has been shaded to show: 1) Countries from which students have come to the UCLA TESL program, or 2) Countries in which UCLA has had officially sponsored projects, or 3) Countries in which UCLA staff members have participated in seminars, workshops, surveys, or consultations. We are pleased to note that our efforts have been offered on so wide a scale.

Again we invite reactions to the articles presented. And please, if you wish to receive future volumes, keep us informed of your current address.

The Staff

Additional copies of Volume VI may be obtained from

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MATERIALS DESIGNS FOR INTERMEDIATE AND ADVANCED SECOND-LANGUAGE CLASSES

J. Donald Bowen

Most language teachers will agree that it is substantially more difficult to teach intermediate than beginning level second-language classes, and still more difficult to teach advanced level classes. A correlative observation is that many beginning courses have considerable content and design in common, and that more advanced courses show much more variety of form and substance. Perhaps this indicates that, planned or unplanned, beginning-level language courses agree in large part on the order of presentation of basic materials, the pedagogical "point of entree" into a linguistic system, while the extensive and complex later stages encourage more variety.

Early problems that face the beginner are: the sound system (the inventory and distribution of phonological elements) and a repertoire of simple, basic sentence patterns, which can serve as building blocks for later structural elaboration. These are presented in familiar situations (identification of self and colleagues in the classroom, naming, classification and location of concrete objects) laced with patterns of phatic communication with which the student can facilitate his efforts to exchange information. At this stage the interest of novelty maintains class incentive for attention and focus on the lesson.

But the interest of novelty is short-lived as sentences and situations are repeated the requisite number of times to guarantee learning and facility. Most especially with adult students the class faces a difficult dilemma: how to reconcile the simplified activities allowed by severely limited linguistic competence with the mature interests of students who have had extensive experience in the highly varied cultural environment of the sophisticated adult world. It is apparent that first-language learning experiences cannot serve the needs of the post-puberty second-language student, simply because this student cannot divest himself of his personal history of maturation and development. If he is to learn, he must do so as a man; he cannot repeat his childhood experiences of learning basic cultural information at the same time he learns oral expression.

This can be vividly demonstrated by asking students in a teacher-training class to "peer teach" each other, presenting simple language lessons, presumably to illustrate the use of methods and techniques. Students, when told to "pretend you don't know how the negative transformation functions in English and act like you are just learning," will be conspicuously ill at ease in their role as learners. And understandably so: they are being asked to do something that contradicts their nature, to pretend to be something they are not.

If the interest of novelty cannot be maintained because there is so much familiar ground to traverse before language students can have genuinely new experiences in their language, how can we hope to build and maintain motivation through the extended period of training necessary to lay a foundation even roughly comparable to first-language skills? As any language teacher knows, this is not an easy question. Some students come self-motivated; they want to learn badly enough to provide from their own resources the perseverance that eventually assures success. But the percentage of students with sufficient interest to provide their own motivation is very low. Furthermore such students will succeed with a minimum classroom input; they need little more than exposure and opportunity. The measure of an effective teacher is the extent to which he can expand the percentage of achievers beyond the assumed minimal core.

What can be done to enhance the likelihood of success in the typical adult class? There are a number of suggestions for answers to this question, which include the following ideas: 1) Provide the largest variety of activities for the students which their limited new linguistic experience will allow. Variety can of itself help avoid the deadening effect of doing the same thing too many times and can therefore encourage students to maintain attention and interest. A corollary to this is that activities in the classroom should not always be predictable. Doing or saying the unexpected is often an effective way to assure student attention. 2) Design learning activities in a way that they will resemble and suggest (and, ultimately, lead to) real-life communication situations. In this respect the illusion of reality, an artistic achievement pursued by dramatists, novelists, and poets, is more relevant than reality itself. If students can forget they're in a class, learning

effectiveness may increase. 3) Supply through the content of the lesson a real and valid intellectual challenge. This understandably becomes easier as the class progresses, but even from relatively early stages the students can and should have their capacities stretched. This concept must be applied with sensitive discretion, of course, since if students are embarrassed or discouraged, the avenues of learning may be seriously blocked.

None of these ideas are original; they have been around for a long time. But apparently they haven't been applied well, since classroom teaching problems persist. Perhaps we should continue experimenting with ideas designed to enhance motivation, to provide real or appropriately simulated opportunities for communication, to include more intellectual challenge in classroom activities. Some possible directions that may warrant further attention are: 1) A lead-time for comprehension, postponing oral production by introducing language forms that will elicit non-verbal responses. 2) Experimental bilingual conversations, where interlocutors use different languages. 3) Mini lessons, or mini-mini lessons--perhaps even subliminal exposure (the TV ad men seem to get their message over--even managing to produce capsules that are not rendered ineffective by repetition). 4) The correlated use of drama and music, which seems to inspire interest and improve communication (again refer to television ads). 5) Various combinations of mixed media presentations (now that we're not so sure that mixing of oral and written for is per se insidious). 6) Experimental use of the new language being studied for linguistic survival in a variety of circumstances and situations (now that we are not positive it's wholly counterproductive for students to make errors--indeed that errors may be an effective means to achieve competence). 7) Attempts to use culture coating to enhance the (hopefully) inherent interest people have in the different ways in which other cultures structure their beliefs and social institutions. This assumes that what is new is interesting, which at least part of the time should be correct.

During the summer of 1971 a workshop was organized at the American University in Cairo in an attempt to find answers to the problems presented by mature learners of limited linguistic achievement. The indirect motivation of the students, who were mid-career civil servants of the Egyptian government, was the opportunity to pursue on a full scholarship and with the continuation of their regular government salary, a two-to three-year program of postgraduate training in the principles and practice of management, which would in turn better equip them for service in their government offices and bureaus, with an enhanced opportunity for promotion and advancement. But the training was to be given in English at an English-curriculum university, to students who 1) had finished their baccalaureate several years earlier, 2) had years of responsible work experience, 3) had been given virtually all their education in Arabic, 4) had studied English as a foreign language under circumstances not ideally conducive to effective language learning, and 5) at least in some cases had serious anxieties about the consequences of being sent back to their regular assignments before successfully completing the management program. There was therefore strong motivation, positively for the opportunity of career advancement and for the chance to earn a Master of Arts degree, and negatively in the desire not to be terminated because of academic or linguistic shortcomings.

But many of the management students were not progressing satisfactorily in the regular university (undergraduate) courses in English as a foreign language to which they were assigned. They complained that the language training was not effective, that the teachers were too young and inexperienced, that the books they studied from were often puerile and unchallenging, that the tests did not accurately measure student proficiency, etc. It was interesting to compare these mature adult students to the younger undergraduates, who were more willing to accept the language lessons as a means to an end (admission to the University as a full-fledged student), without demanding so high a level of relevance to real life. Or perhaps the transition from secondary school was less disconcerting than from a real work assignment, or maybe the consequences of failure were less threatening. Whatever the reason, the older students were dissatisfied, and the workshop was one effort to explore the possibilities of improved materials for better and more efficient language training.

The workshop team members included five EFL teachers (three American and two British) one management instructor (an Egyptian), and several consultants (Egyptian and American) who were available when needed, with supporting clerical personnel and services.[1] The team decided that activities different from those familiar to the classrooms would have to be planned, since students had clearly indicated their dissatisfaction with existing models. In response to this need six types of projects were designed:

1) Lectures--recordings of relevant past lectures were prepared in short selections for listening comprehension, organization and outlining; skill practice, note taking, making summaries, and oral reports and compositions.

2) Case studies--presentations from tape recordings of management-type situations were prepared to describe the kinds of problems and decisions that characterize the operation of an office or business, to provide practice in listening comprehension, logical analysis and inductive reasoning, group discussion and oral expression, role playing, writing letters and memos.

3) Audio visual materials--to incorporate film and recordings into the specific areas of interest of the students. These consisted of alternate (and simplified) sound tracks for management sound films, and descriptive tape recorded texts to accompany film strips. These provided for listening and reading comprehension in a visual, pictorial context, oral summaries and group discussion, identifying main ideas and supporting details, asking and answering questions, and using reference materials.

4) Readings--selections from appropriate management-related readings to give specific practice in such reading skills as skimming, locating specific information, intensive reading for organization and details, etc. and for discussion and outlining, summarizing, written composition.

5) Concept development--the study of related vocabulary items to give practice in derivation and other morphological processes and in semantic relationships, and to identify and work with lexical sets.

6) Lecturettes--a specially designed activity with a format which is further described below, prepared to provide practice in listening and reading comprehension, copying and dictation, writing and spelling, and in particular the exercise of integrative language skills, especially as applied to interpretation from context.

All of these forms, designed for the variety of language and study skills above, have advantages and no doubt limitations. I would like to describe the last mentioned category of materials, the form designated "lecturettes," in some detail, to explain the structure and content of the activities, the rationale for their development, and the possible role they can perform in a language program.

Lecturettes are short comprehensive exercises prepared and recorded in various modes for student listening. They are brief presentations, written or adapted for the particular interests of a particular student group (in this case management students) in two forms: full and simplified. Full means normal narrative English prose in a technical or semitechnical register. Simplified versions are a paraphrase and to some extent a condensation written to a limited vocabulary (the first 2000 words of a standard frequency count plus rationalized exceptions such as recognizable cognates) with an effort to avoid long, involved, complex sentences. Each version is recorded on tape in two forms: regular and deliberate. Regular is the normal speed of delivery for a public lecture, around 130 to 140 words per minute. Deliberate is a slower form, recorded at about three-fourths of regular, or 90 to 110 words per minute. These are approximate speeds, since "words" is an approximate term, ranging from very short items like "a" to much longer ones like "coincidental." In recording in deliberate style, every effort is made to avoid the distortions of inserting pauses or breaks in unexpected places, and of separating at word boundaries sounds which affect each other. In other words, even though the tempo of recording was slowed down, the effect of natural pronunciation was as much as possible preserved. This is mainly done by making slightly longer pauses at natural phrase breaks and otherwise speaking in a slightly deliberate style.

There are, then, four "modes," numbered below to reflect the presumed scale of increasing difficulty of comprehension:

1. Simplified deliberate
2. Simplified regular
3. Full deliberate
4. Full regular

Those familiar with Voice of America broadcasts in countries outside of the United States will recognize the mode "simplified deliberate" as essentially equivalent to the VOA broadcasts in Special English, aimed at the very considerable audience of persons abroad learning English who have not yet attained a mastery that allows easy comprehension of the style of English used in normal broadcasting, represented by mode 4 "full regular." Modes 2 and 3 are intermediate steps, with 2 using a simplified form but regular delivery and 3 using a full form but deliberate delivery.

The idea is to take the students through material in context that is graded in terms of lexical/grammatical complexity and rate of delivery, from a form most easily interpreted to a form that represents the demands and challenge of normal English lecture style. But if the student's only task is to listen and understand, he may not be able to maintain full attention on what he is hearing, especially since the content of the presentation is either repeated verbatim or in a somewhat modified (more complex) form. True, the "full" form will add information, but many of our normal listening activities are aimed at general ideas rather than details, and the general ideas of the simplified and full forms will be closely similar.

So we arrange for the active participation of the student by giving him a modified dictation task. The texts of the lecturettes are prepared in a cloze format exercise, with every tenth word deleted.[2] Two written forms of each of the simplified and full modes are prepared--one each for use at deliberate and regular recording speeds, but deleting different sets of words. This is done by deleting words 10, 20, 30, etc. of Form A of the simplified text, and words 5, 15, 25, etc. of Form B. Forms A and B of the full text are similarly prepared.

Students, as they listen to the tape, restore the words by writing them in the blanks. The sequence for each text (simplified and full) is deliberate before regular. This allows the student to become familiar with the content and gives practice on the cloze-dictation task doing the slower version before the faster, while not requiring the exact same participation, since a different set of words are to be restored the second time the text is heard. The simplified and full paraphrases offer another kind of varied practice, with similar though not identical content, but different vocabulary and syntax. It is hoped that the balance of novelty (different forms and different sets of deletion within a form) and familiarity (a common context selected to represent student interest will encourage growth in student facility in interpretation and comprehension, keeping levels of "repetition" within tolerable limits while valuable practice is achieved. The four "modes" are designed as stepping stones to cross a gap that might otherwise be too wide to negotiate with a single leap.

Specifically the task of the student is to follow the spoken word with understanding, recognize the word that fits in the blank, write it hurriedly, then jump ahead to catch up, finding one's place to further interpret the spoken word and match it with the appropriate written symbols. This process is repeated through the recorded passage.

The rationale that underlies this presentation is: 1) variety is maintained as essential to focus student attention, 2) context is supplied to maximize natural expression and student interest, 3) a pattern of integrative skills is developed as the student concentrates on a combination or oral comprehension, reading comprehension, recognition of forms in context, dictation skills (at normal speed of delivery, not broken up to wait for a student writing as fast as he can to catch up), cloze completions, and spelling, and 4) a "listener's grammar" is developed through which oral comprehension is developed by the active participation of the auditor, who analyzes as he listens and makes largely fulfilled predictions about what he will hear next, which explains how a competent listener can usually fill in the missing parts of a garbled message, if the subject of the discourse is one that covers familiar ground.

This set of activities can be given in different ways, depending on the level and pacing of the class. Mode 1 can be given and then corrected to see if a particular exercise is too easy, too difficult, or approximately right for the class. If too simple the class can go directly to Mode 2; if too difficult, the selection can be discussed for content, vocabulary, structure, and then repeated for comprehension only or again attempting the cloze exercise. Two (or more) listening-completion exercises can be done the same day or at succeeding classes. If it is anticipated that a mode will be too easy, the class can do the cloze exercise as a cloze test, filling the blanks without listening to the tape--thus removing both

the dictated answers and the pacing factor. Then they can hear the tape and correct their own (or a classmate's) paper to see how accurately they interpreted the content of the distorted text. Another variation could be first listening to the tape and then completing the cloze exercise from a combination of memory and interpretive analysis.

It is suggested that after doing Modes 1 and 2, a comprehension quiz would be appropriate; this will impress on the students the importance of understanding the meaning of the entire exercise and not just the appropriate completion of each blank as it comes along. The comprehension quiz which was prepared to accompany the exercise done for the AUC project was in two parts: a set of five true-false questions and a set of five multiple choice questions. They are simple--no misleading questions or querying of nonimportant details--intended to tell the student, and the teacher, whether the listening and blank-filling was accompanied by understanding.

After doing Modes 3 and 4, it would be appropriate and hopefully productive to have a set of questions for class discussion, not now testing literal comprehension, but probing for background understanding, collateral information, relevance and applications, etc.

The technique of using what is here designated as "lecturettes" is not intended as the sole content of an intermediate or advanced course, but rather as a supplementary activity, to be used with discretion. This is important to keep in mind, because any technique or procedure--no matter how exciting or challenging or productive--will be exhausted by overuse. The criterion of classroom variety suggests a sequence of different activities, of which the lecturette technique is only one. These combination dictation-cloze exercises can be done as a classroom activity or assigned for completion in the language laboratory, either with or without the privilege of relistening to the text.

None of the suggestions offered is intended as dogmatic, but simply as ideas which can be tried in an effort to liven classes, to interest students, and to improve the level of efficiency which characterizes formal language learning in school classrooms. Examples of the materials described are given below to illustrate the descriptions offered.

Mode 1 is simplified deliberate - the words to be deleted are underlined and in italics. Mode 2 is simplified regular - the words to be deleted are underlined and in caps.

CLOZE EXERCISES - MODES 1 AND 2 - SIMPLIFIED

Marketing and Marketers

Instructions: As you listen to the recording of the following selection, fill the blanks with the words you hear.

About two hundred years AGO_, before the Industrial Revolution, _*people*_ who worked in marketing HAD_ many jobs to do. _*For*_ example, they bought at THE_ lowest possible price the _*products*_ which they wanted to SELL_. The marketers kept these _*products*_ until they could sell THEM_ for a good price. _*Sometimes*_ they lost money if THE_ products spoiled or became _*bad*_, or if they were NO_ longer wanted.

Today, people _*who*_ work in marketing have TO_ do the same jobs: _*buying*_, storing, and selling.

The MARKETER_ is still mainly interested _*in*_ seeing that supply and DEMAND_ are equal to each _*other*_. But nowadays, the marketer TRIES_ to find out what _*people*_ want to buy and how _*much*_ money they are ready TO_ spend.

The good marketer _*advertises*_ his product well to MAKE_ people buy more and _*spend*_ more money. But he MUST_ know how much they _*will*_ buy, that is, what THE_ demand for his product _*will*_ be. When he knows WHAT_ the demand will be, _*then*_ he can produce the RIGHT_ amount. In this way, _*he*_ can be sure that SUPPLY_ equals demand and demand _*equals*_ supply.

After these two exercises are completed, the class is examined to make sure the procedure is not merely encouraging mechanical responses.

J. Donald Bowen

Comprehension Quiz

A. TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

_____1. Marketing did not change after the Industrial Revolution.
_____2. Before the Industrial Revolution marketers lost money if their products spoiled.
_____3. The modern marketer does not need to know what people want to buy.
_____4. Marketers no longer store goods.
_____5. The marketer's main job is to see that supply and demand are equal to each other.

B. MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. This passage is about:
_____a. The Industrial Revolution
_____b. Marketing
_____c. Prices
_____d. Advertising

2. Marketers advertise in order to:
_____a. Find out what people want
_____b. Increase the prices of their products
_____c. Make people buy more
_____d. Use their profits

3. Before the Industrial Revolution marketers kept their goods:
_____a. Until they spoiled or became bad
_____b. Until they got a good price for them
_____c. Until they paid for them
_____d. Until they saw how much they could sell

4. When a modern marketer finds out how much people will buy
_____a. He produces the right amount
_____b. He increases the price
_____c. He advertises more
_____d. He produces more than the demand

5. After the Industrial Revolution buying, storing, and selling
_____a. Were no longer necessary at all
_____b. Were not as important as before
_____c. Were still the main jobs
_____d. Were still the only jobs

Then the class is ready for the more sophisticated version of the selection.

Mode 3 is full deliberate - the words to be deleted are underlined and in italics. Mode 4 is full regular - the words to be deleted are underlined and in caps.

CLOZE EXERCISE - MODES 3 AND 4 - FULL

The roles ascribed to _MARKETING_ in the early days *were* suited to an agricultural _AND_ handicraft economy. During the *centuries* prior to the Industrial _REVOLUTION_, people who worked in *what* might now be called _THE_ marketing field normally performed *the* following tasks: They assembled _THE_ merchandise which the producer *had* already created (collected the _GRAIN_, cattle, orchard crops and *other* commodities); graded the assembled _PRODUCTS_; stored them; and shipped *them* to the points

of _CONSUMPTION_.

Coincidental with these physical _activities_, the marketers performed certain _ECONOMIC_ activities. They bought the _goods_ at the lowest possible price; while storing the goods _they_ assumed the risk that _THE_ products might spoil or _that_ prices might decline; and _WHEN_ they found a buyer _they_ proposed a price and _HAGGLED_ until a mutually agreeable _price_ was determined. The prices _EVENTUALLY_ chosen were the ones _that_ would clear the market, _WOULD_ equate the short term _supply_ with demand.

The physical _MARKETING_ activities of assembling, grading, _storing_, and shipping have to _BE_ performed today, as in _the_ past. They are usually _NO_ longer the dominant tasks _of_ the marketer but have _BEEN_ reduced to a routine _so_ that the marketer can _DIRECT_ his attention toward other _activities_ in the marketing process _OF_ providing consumer satisfaction. Nevertheless, _there_ is great interest in _THIS_ area as it is _a_ costly one, and modern _MARKETING_ executives are employing the _tool_ of operations research and _OTHER_ techniques of modern management _to_ reduce these costs. However, _IT_ can still be said _that_ the chief role of _THE_ marketer is to help _equate_ supply with demand, but _THEY_ do this in other _ways_ than haggling over the _PRICE_. On the demand side _they_ can adjust it through _VARIOUS_ merchandising strategies; one of _the_ most common is that _OF_ advertising and promotion. On _the_ supply side they forecast _WHAT_ the estimated demand will _be_, and then production schedules _ARE_ set accordingly. The basic _aim_ of the modern marketer _IS_ to keep sales in _line_ with production. Thus not _ONLY_ must he be interested _in_ the sales of the _COMPANY_ but also in production, _for_ it is up to _THE_ marketing man to guide _production_ into producing what the _CUSTOMERS_ in the market place _desire_ at a price they _CAN_ afford to pay.

The suggested discussion scheduled after the students have heard both of the full versions of the lecturette (and have completed the cloze exercise) can be guided by the following questions.

Discussion Questions

1. How has marketing changed in Egypt in the last two hundred years? When have changes taken place? What are the main jobs of Egyptian marketers nowadays?
2. The lecturer suggests that advertising is an important task of the modern marketer. What advertising media and techniques do you think are the most effective in Egypt? Why?
3. Under what circumstances do customers and sellers haggle over prices in Egypt?
4. What effect does a transportation system (for example, the Nile River) have on patterns of marketing in Egypt?
5. What effects do you think the nationalization of companies and the fixing of prices have on marketing?

This kind of discussion can be elaborated with further information, follow-up assignments such as a written summary, notes for an oral report, etc. or by specific reading assignments or a bibliography.

This then is a sample of the lecturette. It is not the most interesting of the series that was prepared in the summer 1971 workshop. In fact it is rather a prosaic treatment, easily eclipsed by others with such titles as Marketing and the Mousetrap, Parkinson's Law, and Introducing the Computer. But it is short and serves well as an illustration of the lecturette idea.

A number of variations can be introduced in the presentation. In larger texts it might be advantageous to apply deletions only to every second paragraph so the students could avoid the continuous pressure of working at a tempo externally established and imposed. Instead of deleting every tenth word, one could try every eighth, ninth, eleventh, etc., possibly adjusting the interval to correspond with the difficulty of the material or the proficiency of the class, in a way that the

abilities of the students are slightly stretched by the exercise. Conceivably cloze forms with different intervals could be prepared for the same session, with the better students doing exercises with smaller intervals. As another variation the cloze treatment could be based on form classes (all prepositions or articles or verbs, etc.) rather than nonselectively deleting every nth word.

In doing cloze "tests" (for purposes of student evaluation) it is standard procedure to replace deleted words with a blank of standard length, so as not to give mechanical hints to the student's efforts at restoration, but to require that he rely solely on context. The cloze exercise in a lecturette is a task that requires not the choice of a possible blank filler, but rather the recognition of a form spoken in context, so perhaps a blank which bears a direct relation to the length of the deleted word would be a useful advantage; the student should possibly have the assistance of positive suggestions that support his ability to interpret forms that are heard. Another consideration is that in writing words in the blanks it is obvious that long words take more time to write than short words, so students might be encouraged to use abbreviation, then perhaps fill out the full words as a post-exercise editorial task. This would give them another exposure to the exercise that would be motivated by a reason stronger than just to "look through it again." In evaluating performance on cloze exercises, misspellings are marked, but not counted as wrong.

As these lecturette exerciese were prepared, they were tried out in summer school classes. Besides the exercise students completed, they were asked to give judgments with respect to interest, level of difficulty, and appropriateness of the tempo of the recorded comprehension/reading/blank-filling exercise. A tally of responses to these judgments for a class of eight students follows:

	Mode 1	2	3	4
Interest				
Very interesting	-	-	-	-
Interesting	7	6	5	3
Not interesting	1	2	3	5
Difficulty				
Easy	8	6	3	2
Just right	-	2	4	2
Difficult	-	-	1	4
Speed				
Too slow	3	1	2	1
Just right	4	3	3	3
Too fast	1	4	3	4

This is admittedly an extremely modest evaluation with only eight students participating. It was the first experience they had had with a new activity, and therefore the interest of novelty could be expected to be high. Nonetheless, certain generalizations can be drawn which seem to be valid because they were expected:

1. The interest level was reasonably high (for such a prosaic subject as "Marketing and Marketers") but interest diminished with each repetition.
2. Judgments of difficulty increase as more demanding tasks are imposed, in spite of repetitions of the same form and/or content.
3. Estimates of speed correlate with rate of delivery, but all seem to cluster quite reasonably, with an overall bulge at the "just right" level.

Student performance on the cloze exercises and the comprehension quiz are as follows (error tally):

Student No.	1	2	CQ	3	4
	(20)	(20)	(10)	(37)	(38)
1	-0	-0	-5	-4	-3
2	-0	-0	-5	-6	-4
3	-1½	-1	-3	-4	-9
4	-1	-1	-6	-5	-8
5	-0	-4	-2	-8	-12½
6	-3	-5	-3	-7	-19½
7	-0	-7	-1	-10	-10
8	-3	-7	-2	-15	-12½
Totals	-8	-25	-27	-59	-78½
Average	1.06	3.13	3.38	7.38	9.81
% of Total blanks	5.3	15.7	33.8	19.9	25.8

Again subject to limitations, a few patterns and correlations stand out:
1. Modes 1, 2, 3 and 4 definitely show a progression of difficulty.
2. Surprisingly, there is an almost perfect inverse ratio of the performance on the simplified versions of the cloze exercise and the comprehension quiz. This may mean these are incompatible skills, or it may indicate a need for precisely the kind of integrative skills that more practice with cloze exercises would afford.

J. Donald Bowen

A few observations from the examination of individuals' papers may be worth recording. Ease as judged by students and performance on cloze exercises do not correlate particularly well. Also especially among low performance students, there is no correlation through the four modes. Examining individual blanks in the cloze exercise, it is quite obvious that some are more difficult, and more often missed, than others. This is of course what one would expect. Also after a long or difficult word, the next blank tends to suffer. The distraction apparently has an effect that makes it difficult to get "on track" again.

Two other classes (of 13 and 12 students) tried other lecturettes, though not doing all the exercises and the comprehension quiz. The results are consistent with those of the class reported above, with the exception of a gratifying drop in one case of the error rate in the exercise for Mode 4 as compared to Mode 3. Perhaps the training was taking.

I believe that the procedure described here as a lecturette, a modified comprehension/dictation technique requiring integrative skills in the context of a structured series of activities in an order of increasing demand on the student, is worth further experimental classroom trial. Certainly we need to keep searching for better materials, given the sad state of most of our classrooms, and lecturettes promise to combine meaningful content with rationalized structured activities. The cloze format used in an oral presentation offers most of the advantages of dictation with the additional consideration that oral production does not have to be given in chunks with pauses, waiting while the student copier catches up to the oral delivery. This preserves a naturalness of presentation while still requiring practice in the skills of recognizing, interpreting what is recognized, correlating speech and writing, encoding items heard in the writing system, and correctly spelling items to be inserted--all under moderate time pressure. This requires focussed and sustained effort on the part of the students which hopefully will yield benefits of integrated mastery of the bundle of skills needed by students of a foreign language. And lecturettes offer the further promise of something to do in a laboratory setting that cannot be well controlled in a viva voce classroom situation. Hopefully we will through the experimental use of a variety of classroom laboratory activities gradually develop useful insights into how students can more efficiently be given the skills of thought and expression in a second language.

NOTES

[1]It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous contribution of the participants in the workshop. The team members were Phyllis Abdel-Al, Dan Wright, Mary Zaki, Doreen Anwar, Wendy Meneizy, and Zeinab Naggar. Consultants included Jan Van Vleck, Dr. Yehia El-Ezaby, Dr. Salah El-Araby, Bonnie Araman, Dr. Edward Muth, Dr. Samir Ayoub, and most especially Dr. Herbert Rees, Director of the management program. Support and clerical services were provided by Sonya Victor, Samira Mikhail, Sophia Ragheb, Roseline Malathis, Elizabeth Bishara, and Sohair Mohamed Fouad. Laboratory and recording assistance was competently supplied by George Fahrny and Nabil Ishaak. Teachers in whose classes early versions of the materials were tried out are Ann Farid and Nancy Salama. Encouragement and expediting were always available from Dean of the Faculties, Dr. Richard P. Crabbs, and from President Christopher Thoron.

[2]The cloze format has been widely applied to testing, and a recent monograph explores applications to other aspects of teaching: Eugene Jongsma. The Cloze Procedure as a Teaching Technique. The International Reading Association: Newark, Delaware, 1970, 42pp. The Jongsma paper includes a bibliography, though it is far from complete (no mention is made of the extensive series of papers done by John Oller and his collaborators on the applications of cloze testing to second-language situations). Jongsma mentions several possible applications of the cloze technique to teaching (as distinguished from testing), all involving reading. The present paper is the first attempt I am aware of to adapt the cloze format to oral procedures in the language classroom.

THE UNIVERSALIST HYPOTHESIS: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR CONTRASTIVE SYNTAX AND LANGUAGE TEACHING[1]

Marianne Celce-Murcia

BACKGROUND

Theories of second-language teaching, implicitly or explicitly, are based on some linguistic model. The model on which most previous work is based assumes that "languages can differ from each other unpredictably and without limit." (Joos, 1954, p. 96 fn) The proponents of this approach believe that each language is a unique social and cultural product, sharing non-random similarities only with genetically related languages (i.e. languages having a common ancestry, as for example, French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, all of which derive from Latin.)

As opposed to this view, there are linguists who believe that all languages share universal properties, that, in fact, the differences existing among languages are to a great extent superficial (Chomsky, 1965). These linguists are concerned with both the investigation of individual grammars of particular languages, and in the development of a theory of linguistic universals. Thus, from a study of particular grammars, the linguist will make predictions about language universals (Chomsky, 1968). Like all scientific hypotheses, such 'universals' can be 'disproved' should any particular language provide contrary evidence. Empirical explorations of the "Universalist Hypothesis" have been carried out (Greenberg, 1962, 1966), and the available evidence strongly suggests that the hypothesis is well-motivated and merits further serious study.

These two different perspectives toward language and the study of languages lead to different assumptions with respect to what theoretical linguistic information should be used in the preparation of optimally effective language teaching materials. Linguists of the non-universalist bent have been active in promoting contrastive analysis studies of a certain kind. Such studies are typically concerned only with the superficial structures of two languages: the native language of the student and the language he is trying to learn, i. e. the target language. This, for example, is the approach used by Kufner (1962) in his study of the grammatical structures of English and German.[2] In fact, in this study Kufner asserts that the " . . .search for a universals grammar has proved futile. . . (p. 64)."

Given this attitude, it is not surprising that the Universalist Hypothesis has been neither adequately considered nor applied to language teaching pedagogy thus far.[3] All too frequently it has been cavalierly dismissed as is shown in the quote from Kufner cited above. The more superficial contrastive analysis approach, however, has undergone much subsidized research and has been applied constantly over the past twenty years. We are all aware, however, that there remain many problems in the teaching of foreign or second languages.

The remainder of this paper suggests an alternative approach to contrastive syntax that takes into account facts about language typology and language universals; it is argued that such an approach is necessary if meaningful work is to be done in the area of contrastive syntax (i e. work that will yield truly useful information to the language teacher and to persons engaged in the preparation of materials).

PROPOSAL

The Universalist Hypothesis suggests the possibility of establishing universal matrices, revealing the finite set of grammatical elements, as well as the finite set of combinatory and hierarchical principles, available to any human language. Two given languages could then be compared with reference to these 'universals' to determine precisely what differences of substance and form they entail and whether these differences are superficial or deep. A further hypothesis is that differences that exist at the superficial level will constitute a minor (or non-existent) learning task whereas those differences existing in 'deep structure' (i.e. underlying structure) will pose a more serious learning problem.

Marianne Celce-Murcia

Since all languages of the world appear to have some way of expressing comparison, constructions of comparison have been selected as the specific problem for discussion in this paper. Although such constructions are singled out for illustrative purposes, it is hoped that the implications for contrastive studies in syntax and for language teaching will be general and far-reaching.

A. TYPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Following the Universalist Hypothesis, I assume that there is a finite number of ways in which any given language may express comparison, and further, that there are certain constraints with respect to these constructions that all languages must obey. One possible way of taking language universals into account is to construct a typology for comparative constructions, based on an investigation of this construction in English and several other carefully selected languages that will provide a broad representation of comparative constructions found in the languages of the world. Using the results of this typology, a number of predictions should emerge concerning the ease or difficulty with which the speakers of these languages could learn English sentences expressing comparison. The typology should be based not on an analysis of surface constructions in these languages but on a comparison of underlying syntactic and semantic processes. For languages of the same type, it is, of course, also necessary to establish a matrix of surface structures, showing the transformations (i.e. permutations, deletions, etc.) that apply. In this way it also becomes clear to what extent languages of the same type include the same set of transformational rules.

A preliminary investigation (reported in more detail in Celce-Murcia, 1972) indicates that there are three different types of comparative constructions found in the languages of the world. I shall refer to the first type as the "degree comparative." This type is exemplified by English and other Indo-European languages (1).

(1) John is taller than Mary.

These languages are described as having a "degree comparative" since they make use of morphemes of degree such as "more/ -er" and "less."

A second syntactic type of comparison is referred to as the "limited universe comparative" and is exemplified by languages such as Mandarin (2) and Japanese (3), which do not make use of morphemes such as "more" and "less" to express comparison. Instead, they make use of uninflected relative adjectives equivalent to "tall," "short," "pretty," etc. and limit the reference of the adjective through the use of two individuals (i.e. arguments) rather than one.

(2) John compared to Mary is tall. (English paraphrase of the Mandarin sentence "John bi Mary gao")

(3) Next to Mary Helen is pretty. (English paraphrase of the Japanese sentence "Mary yori Helen no hoo ga kirei-da")

While the English paraphrases provided above are possible sentences, a more usual translation of (2) would be (1) whereas (3) would normally be translated as (4).

(4) Helen is prettier than Mary.

The third type of syntactic comparison is the "surpass comparative" found in languages such as Igbo (5), a Niger-Congo language of West Africa, as well as in most Bantu languages of East and South Africa.

(5) John ka Mary ogologo. "John surpasses Mary (in) height."

There is an interesting psycholinguistic aspect to languages having "surpass comparatives"; this will be discussed shortly.

B. PSYCHOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Since measurable properties of objects such as age, height, size, weight, number, etc. are at the heart of most expressions of comparison, it is useful to point out the special properties of such concepts.

For example, sentences such as those in (6) can be paraphrased by sentences such as those in (7):

(6) a. John is heavier than Bill.
    b. Bill is shorter than John.
(7) a. John's weight is greater than Bill's (weight).
    b. Bill's height is less than John's (height).

In English and many other languages, such measurable properties in predicates of comparison tend to be expressed in terms of adjectives that form pairs of oppositions as in (8)--i. e. the construction used in (6) is more common than the construction used in (7).

(8)

Measurable Property	Predicating Opposition		
	"unmarked form"		"marked form"
age	old	-	young
height	tall	-	short
size	big	-	little
	large	-	small
weight	heavy	-	light
length	long	-	short
width	wide	-	narrow
depth	deep	-	shallow
amount	many/much	-	few/little
temperature	hot	-	cold
	warm	-	cool
strength	strong	-	weak

ETC.

As I have suggested in (8) by the use of the headings "unmarked form" and "marked form," the predicating oppositions listed above have psychological implications, as well as logical import. These psychological implications can be described by the notion of "markedness" (see Chomsky and Halle, 1968, and others). Thus far the concept of markedness has been applied largely to phonological problems; in pairs of phonological oppositions, one member of the pair is typically 'unmarked' (i.e. more natural, more frequently found in languages, more frequent in occurrence in any one language, first learned by children, etc.) and the other member typically 'marked' (i.e. less natural, more complex, etc.). It has been found, for example, that where such oppositions are neutralized', (i.e. where only one member occurs to the exclusion of the other), it is the unmarked member which occurs.

It would be appropriate at this point to offer some preliminary evidence with regard to the hypothesized "unmarked" and "marked" forms given in (8). For example, with respect to age, it would appear that 'old' is the unmarked member of the pair, since one normally says (9) and not (10).

(9) John is 20 years old.
(10) John is 20 years young.

Also one typically asks question (11) rather than (12). (Where (12) is used, it is accompanied by special stress and intonation, i.e. marked prosodic features.)

(11) How old is John?
(12) How young is John?

Example (12) could be acceptable in response to a statement that John would be good

for a certain job but that he is rather young. By extension, the unmarked version of a sentence expressing comparison would be (13) rather than (14):

(13) John is older than Mary.
(14) Mary is younger than John.

That is, (13) would tend to be used in both neutral informational contexts, and contexts focussing on the question of who the older one of the two is. On the other hand, (14) would tend to occur only the in contexts that focus on who the younger one is.

Only a few studies have been concerned with syntactic or semantic 'markedness'. This concept can, however, play an important role in second language teaching. Its theoretical implications regarding psychological conceptualizations are extremely important. With regard to 'unmarked' and 'marked' comparatives, however, an experiment has been conducted (see Celce-Murcia, 1972) to establish empirically markedness values for English with regard to oppositions such as those listed in (8) above. It was found that 40 subjects responded to 36 stimuli designed to elicit comparisons[4] by using the hypothesized unmarked form significantly more frequently than the marked counterpart (i.e. about 87% of all the responses were unmarked).

IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING

If it is found that for the oppositions discussed above there are universally marked and unmarked forms, this will have a great effect on the teaching of comparative constructions. It is interesting to note that in Igbo and in the Bantu languages only the unmarked form corresponding to (15) is possible. Both (13) and (14) must be expressed in Igbo and other languages having "surpass comparatives" as something approximating (15).

(15) John surpasses Mary in age.

In other words, there is a neutralization of the "old/young" opposition in Igbo and Bantu, with only the 'unmarked' form occurring. Given this knowledge, one can easily see implications for language teaching. For speakers of Igbo and Bantu learning English, a systematic presentation and drilling of such marked and unmarked comparative constructions would be required, utilizing explanations and drills which would have to differ from those used with speakers of languages where oppositions such as 'old/young' are not neutralized.

The use of adjective oppositions that relate to measurable properties is an aspect of comparison in English that is ignored in most standard texts used for teaching English to foreigners. For example, in Praninskas (1957), the relatedness or complementarity of the adjective oppositions such as "long/short" with respect to comparative constructions goes unmentioned. Yet the exercises direct the learner to perform tasks such as "Compare two pencils with respect to length" (p. 204). There is, of course, no mention of the preference in English for the use of the 'unmarked' longer versus the 'marked' shorter when comparing two objects with respect to length, or the use of faster versus slower, when comparing two objects with respect to speed.[5] Praninskas is not an isolated case. The exercises and examples in Rutherford (1968, pp. 194-207) and Hornby (1961, pp. 135-144) give even less indication that comparison in English involves internalization of such information. In fact, I have found no materials in any reference books or texts written and used for the teaching of English as a second/foreign language that systematically treat the problems mentioned above.

CONCLUSION

My suggestion is that serious omissions in teaching materials of the sort I have discussed above with reference to the comparative construction may be avoidable in the future if an effort is made to apply the Universalist Hypothesis--as expressed in Transformational Theory--to contrastive studies in syntax. In other words, for each major sentence type being contrasted (e.g. indirect object constructions, embedded noun clauses, alternative questions, contrary-to-fact sentences, etc.)[6] it would be extremely desirable to know something about the ways in which different languages of the world express the given construction before proceeding with either a specific contrastive analysis of the construction in two particular languages or the

preparation of language teaching materials designed to teach the construction to classes either with a homogeneous or heterogeneous language background.

Obviously, a great deal of typological syntactic research must be undertaken before such materials will be available to those who wish to carry out contrastive studies in syntax or prepare language teaching materials. However, given the current 'state of the art' in contrastive syntax, it appears that application of the Universalist Hypothesis will result in more insightful studies and thus better teaching materials than most previous contrastive syntax studies have produced.

NOTES

[1]I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Professor Victoria A. Fromkin who is the primary source of my interest in language universals and who, on various occasions, has discussed with me most of the ideas expressed in this paper. The paper has benefited greatly from these discussions; however, all errors and infelicities that appear are solely my responsibility.

[2]See Hammer (1965) for a comprehensive list of the contrastive studies that had been carried out at that time. Almost all of these studies were carried out in the structuralist, non-universalist tradition.

[3]A notable exception to this generalization is the pioneering work presented in Schachter (1967), Wilson (1967) and McIntosh (1967). In this series of papers, Schachter presents an analysis of relative clauses that takes language universals into consideration; Wilson, following the same frame of reference, then takes note of specific differences existing between relative clauses in English and Tagalog; McIntosh subsequently presents some language lessons for teaching English relative clauses to native speakers of Tagalog that were designed based on the differences discussed in Schachter and Wilson.

[4]To give an example of the stimuli used in this experiment, there were two pencils identical in all features except length (i.e. one was slightly longer than the other). The subject was shown these two pencils and asked to make a comparison. Interestingly enough, subjects typically responded with "this pencil is longer" rather than "this pencil is shorter."

[5]If we should find, however, that all languages view the same members of the pairs as unmarked, this kind of explanation will be unnecessary.

[6]Relevant materials of the type being proposed, are, of course, presently available with regard to relative clauses--see Schachter (1967) and comparative constructions--see Celce-Murcia (1972). However, this material is only a sketchy beginning, something suggestive of the enormous task which still needs to be done.

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BRITISH AND AMERICAN INTELLIGIBILITY FOR NON-NATIVE STUDENTS OF ENGLISH

Salah El-Araby

In many parts of Asia, Africa and Europe students have been exposed to different varieties of English. For the last hundred and seventy years British educators have worked in the fields of teaching English and training native teachers to teach the language. These non-native speaking teachers seem to have acquired identifiable pronunciation habits that may be labelled Indian British, Arab British or African British, etc. Each of these labels suggests the language of origin of the teachers and their native linguistic habits. However foreign their accent may remain, it is always an attempt at some British English accent or other. Most of their students believe that they have learned a near-to-authentic British pronunciation.

During and shortly after the Second World War, American educators started to cooperate, and sometimes compete, with the British in teaching English to non-native speakers. Teacher training programs were arranged for scholars from South East Asia, South America, Africa, the Middle East and other parts of the world. Peace Corps volunteers and other American teachers joined institutions where most of the students had been exposed to British English or to any of its hybrid sub-categories. Students in those parts of the world were again faced with another variety of English, namely American English, together with a host of other subvarieties: Indian American, African American, Arab American, etc. While textbooks largely remained British in orientation, the students had to make adjustments to a few different features of pronunciation and vocabulary used by American or American-trained teachers.

Students of English in the Arab Republic of Egypt have passed through all the above stages. American missionary schools were established in many small towns in Egypt towards the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time the British were in control of the system of education in the country. British English became the medium of instruction in all stages of education. Later, in 1923, Arabic replaced English in teaching almost all school subjects as a result of strong national feelings against the use of a foreign tongue in education. English continued to be taught as a subject, chiefly by British educators or by Egyptians speaking the Egyptian British hybrid variety. Prior to admission to **the American University in Cairo, the majority of students have never had any systematic** contact with American English. Many have seen American films and television programs. Very few have had American or American trained instructors teaching them English in preparatory or secondary schools. Although experience has shown that the change to american English does not result in any appreciable intelligibility problems, many of the students believe that it is largely to blame for incidences of failures and lower grades.

Accordingly, the following experiment was designed to find out if a change to American English would result in any significant comprehension difficulties on the part of British trained multinational students. Procedure app Two multinational groups of non-native speakers were chosen. They numbered 20 students each who were used to British pronunciation and had not had any systematic exposure to American English. The two groups were comparable in aural comprehension proficiency as measured by the English Department, University of Leeds entrance exam as well as tutors, evaluation on a six point scale that measures their ability to understand spoken English.

Two passages by the same author, from the same book, were selected for testing aural comprehension of British and American English. Written multiple choice questions identical in number and similar in types were set for each passage. Two varieties of English, British and American were used for voicing each passage. Group I was given the first passage recorded on tape in American English. Scores on the tests for each group, as well as scores of both groups on each test were statistically analyzed. The Subjects

Forty subjects were chosen, twenty in each group, from the Overseas Group, the Institute of Education, the University of Leeds, U.K. They were all graduate

students teaching English in their respective countries in Asia, Africa and other continents. They represented 15 different countries: Sudan, Nigeria, Hong Kong, Bahrain, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Botswana, Uganda, Dahomey, Fiji, Thailand, Sychelle, India, Singapore, and Malaysia.

A questionnaire was given to each student to find out if any of them had been taught by Americans or American trained teachers throughout their school life. In all but two cases the respondants indicated that they had only been taught by either British or British-trained non-native speakers. The two other subjects said that they were taught by American teachers for no more than two years. By coincidence rather than deliberate design, each one of these two students happened to be in each one of the groups selected for the experiment. Criteria for Grouping

The two groups were matched according to two basic criteria: the scores they received on the aural comprehension test administered by the University of Leeds to all foreign students and the rating of their aural comprehension ability by their individual tutors (see Table I).

The test of auditory comprehension, constructed by J. B. Heaton of the University of Leeds, took the form of a 15 minute lecture recorded on video-tape. The lecture, as explained by the designer of the test, consisted of the biography of a fictitious Yorkshire novelist and was kept neutral as far as possible in language, content and background so that no particular studnets would have an advantage. The videotape recording took the form of a straightforward lecture with a single television camera presenting a medium close-up view of the speaker in order to simulate a realistic lecture situation. Students were allowed to take notes during the lecture after which they received 25 multiple choice written questions to test their understanding. Although no formal validation of this test has been carried out, the consensus of opinion of the instructors and its high correlation with other written subtests suggest confirmation of its validity.

The second basic criterion was requested of the tutors of individual students in each group. They were asked to rate the ability of each subject to understand spoken English according to a six point continuum scale where 1 stands for "Almost impossible for him to understand spoken English" and 6 shows that the subject is "on a par with native speakers of English following the course." None of the subjects was rated either (1) or (6). As expected, most of them were rated either 3 or 4.

It was felt that a combination of the objective and controlled scores on the auditory comprehension test and the evaluation of the tutors based on their experience with the students would result in a fairly accurate indication of each subject's ability to understand spoken English. Admittedly, the subjects were different on every other count, nationality, age, background knowledge, previous experience. However, it was felt that since auditory comprehension was the only variable tested, matching the subjects according to their ability in this respect was the most relevant procedure. The Test

Two passages were chosen from Bronowski's "Common Sense of Science". They were almost of equal length (the second passage had five words more than the first) and almost the same in difficulty. According to the Dale and Chall system the first passage was rated at 12.7 and the second at 13 indicating that both are appropriate for college freshmen. The Fog Index rated the first passage at 12 and the second at 12.8 indicating roughly the same difficulty level. The scientific and logical content of both passages was considered neutral to language teachers giving no one subject a clear advantage over the other. It is assumed here that these indices would have corresponding values when the passages are voiced for auditory comprehension although the formulas are designed to measure reading difficulty.

Two professors at the University of Leeds were requested to voice each passage. The American professor's accent was considered clear and intelligible by his British students. The British professor's accent was judged as the "characteristic English accent" by his colleagues. He spoke RP (received pronunciation) which is looked upon as non-regional in character and accepted in the best society "according to Abercrombie (1970). The two professors were asked to listen to each other's voicing of the passages. They generally agreed on the ideas to be emphasized, the breath group segmentation of the sentences and the approximate speed of reading.

The recording of each of the two passages started with the following instructions. "First: read the questions on the sheet given to you. If you need help on any of them, please ask. Second: You are going to hear a passage about

science. Listen carefully to all the main ideas in it. If you do not understand the meaning of some words, don't let this worry you. Keep listening until the end and try to remember all the facts. You will then be allowed 20 minutes to answer the questions on the sheet handed to you. If you need help ask for it now. No questions will be allowed later." The purpose of the lengthy instructions was to familiarize the subjects with the voice of the speaker and his personal style of enunciation. Before the tape was played, the subjects had been thoroughly briefed on what they were supposed to do by their classroom instructor.

The recorded and written test was administered to each group in a separate language laboratory at the University of Leeds. The subjects were told that the tests were for experimental purposes and would have no direct bearing on their course grades. However, it was mentioned that their tutors would see the results of these tests later and explain the full purpose of the experiment. Discussion of Results

The raw scores for the 20 subjects in each group are presented in Table I. These have been converted to mean scores for the pretest and the two dialects as shown in Table II. Standard deviations have also been included. Group I responded significantly better to British than American English ($t = 2.692$ d.f. $= 19$ $p = <.01$). There seems to be two possible explanations for this. One is that they are better used to British than American dialects. The second is that they gained more experience in the author's style and way of presentation as well as in taking multiple choice tests.

TABLE I

Raw Score on Aural Comprehension Pretest, British and American Dialects

	AC	Amer.	Brit.		AC	Brit.	Amer.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	18.	5.	7.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	8.	7.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	26.	6.	8.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	16.	5.	2.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	36.	6.	6.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	28.	4.	7.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	48.	7.	12.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	40.	7.	10.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	38.	8.	8.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	40.	6.	11.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	42.	6.	8.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	5.	8.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	24.	5.	5.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	7.	6.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	30.	4.	4.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	36.	10.	8.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	24.	4.	5.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	5.	6.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	28.	7.	9.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	22.	5.	4.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	40.	9.	9.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	3.	6.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	40.	5.	10.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	30.	5.	9.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	32.	5.	7.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	42.	11.	9.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	40.	8.	5.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	33.	7.	9.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	18.	2.	7.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	32.	8.	6.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	32.	4.	2.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	40.	8.	10.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	30.	4.	8.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	44.	7.	10.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	12.	3.	3.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	6.	6.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	36.	3.	7.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	32.	7.	4.
Group 1, Amer-Brit	36.	9.	8.	Group 2, Brit-Amer	34.	7.	7.

TABLE II

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of the Two Groups on 3 Tests

	Group I Mean	SD	Group II Mean	SD
Pretest	31.500	9.197	33.650	6.499
Amer. Dialect	5.500	2.013	7.250	2.337
Brit. Dialect	6.900	2.404	6.550	1.932

Students in Group II, who were exposed to British dialect first, did better on the American part of the test, but not enough to make a statistically significant difference. They seemed to have improved enough with practice on the author's presentation and the testing situation to counterbalance any possible intelligibility problems resulting from the change in dialects. But it is difficult to separate the effect of dialect change and the effect of order presentation. The order of presentation of the passages seems to have interfered in the results. It is a variable that should have been eliminated by having additional groups (two more) take the tests in different order. Another limitation of the experiment is the number of subjects and their different backgrounds. An additional complication was that they varied in their interest and enthusiasm when taking the test. Some of them thought of it as an additional burden on an already busy schedule. Others indicated that they would have felt better if the purpose of the experiment was clearly explained to them before taking the tests. When privately interviewed later, two of them even admitted that they could not tell the American from the British dialect.

On the basis of this study student responses to the two dialects do not seem to be radically different. While the analysis showed that Group I did better on the British English recording selection, the difference does not seem to justify planning a program for facilitating transition from British to American teaching dialects. Although results of this experiment appear to be inconclusive, they do suggest that more and better controlled research should be conducted to explore American intelligibility problems that British-trained students are likely to face.

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LANGUAGE ALLOCATION AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN A DEVELOPING NATION

Tom Gorman

In this paper I will comment upon some developments relating to language policy and, more specifically, language allocation in East Africa with particular reference to Kenya; and to the reaffirmation of the status of Swahili as the national language and its designation as a future primary official language of the state.[1] I will also discuss some aspects of policy with reference to a number of recent statements by scholars concerning language planning processes.

I have in mind, in particular, Dr. Rubin's remarks in the Introduction to Can Language Be Planned? to the effect that

> We still do not know how language planning actually operates: what are the goals that planners have considered, what motivates their considerations of particular goals and their acceptance of single goals...and what does in fact happen? We do not know in any detail just how well the abstract notions thus far delineated correspond to realities of language planning. (Rubin and Jernudd, p. xxii).

In considering these issues with reference to the situation in Kenya I found it useful to make a distinction between language planning and what I have termed language allocation in discussing language policies adopted in the process of language regulation. By language allocation I mean authoritative decisions to maintain, extend or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings. The term language planning is most appropriately used in my view to refer to coordinated measures taken to select, codify and, in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon.[2] Decisions on language allocation must normally precede decisions on language planning, so defined.

I adopted these distinctions for a number of reasons; one being that the methods of description developed to describe processes associated with language planning (in the more general sense in which the term is frequently used) did not appear to provide a suitable framework for analysis of the processes of language regulation evident in Kenya. I considered in particular the applicability of the schemes elaborated by T. Thorburn and D. Jernudd in the book referred to in their discussion of cost-benefit models for decision making and an outline (by Jernudd and Das Gupta) of planning processes that might be utilized in the exploitation, as it were, of language as a 'societal resource.' This outline, stated in 'ideal and general terms' lists the following procedures:

> The broadest authorization for planning is obtained from the politicians. A body of experts is then specifically delegated the task of preparing a plan. In preparing this, the experts ideally estimate existing resources and forecast potential utilization of such resources in terms of developmental targets. Once targets are agreed upon, a strategy of action is elaborated. These are authorized by the legislature and are implemented by the organizational set-up, authorized in its turn by the planning executive. The implementation of the tasks may be evaluated periodically by the planners. (Jernudd and Das Gupta, p. 196).

Characteristics of these prodedures are a degree of precision in the definition of objectives, realistic appraisal of the possibilities in terms of the resources available and necessary for the attainment of the proposed objectives over a specified period of time; provision for the evaluation or periodic appraisal of the plan and the quantification, when possible, of values for mathematical analysis.

In considering the singular lack of correspondence between these procedures and those associated with language regulation in East Africa, I recalled the observation that Charles Lindblom made some years ago with reference to planning procedures derived from studies of economic planning, operations research and systems analysis, which is generally applicable to the schemes just mentioned, viz. that they 'remain largely the appropriate techniques of relatively small-scale

problem solving where the total number of variables to be considered is small and value problems restricted.' (Lindblom, p. 130).

Procedures similar to those itemized by Jornudd and Das Gupta are employed as a matter of course by senior officers of different Ministries in the work of central government in the implementation of policies that have been duly authorized; indeed, it could be argued that they are characteristic of the manner in which those with managerial responsibilities in modern bureaucracies develop and implement operational policy.[3] Decisions on national and official language allocation are not generally susceptible to planning of this kind, however, as they frequently involve attempts to alter or regulate in some measure aspects of individual and group behavior and social relationships (in the sense that such policies may serve to affect how people expect other members of the group to behave in certain settings), and because they entail the modification or manipulation of values, beliefs and sentiments. More particularly, they involve an attempt by political leaders to regulate what might be termed the communicative conduct of the activities of members of the bureaucracy or public service. It is not coincidental that in Kenya, as in Tanzania and Malawi, where decisions on language allocation have been taken, the impetus for the extension of the official functions of an indigenous language has been channelled through the organs of the ruling political party--under whose auspices the initial language policy directives have been issued--rather than through the Ministries concerned and the bureaucratic system, as it were. This fact is relevant to discussion of the nature of the problems involved in language allocation as I have implied above, and to the objectives sought and the techniques used to attain these.

It is no doubt platitudinous to make the point that the organization of a multilingual state requires that explicit or implied policy decisions regarding language allocation are taken continuously at all administrative levels of government. Relatively few such decisions are codified or subject to regulation. The attempt to impose a measure of regulation on the use of 'official' languages, variously defined, has been undertaken in numerous independent states, particularly in South Asia, and these developments have been associated in many cases with the selection of a particular language as the 'national' (or 'state' or 'linking') language.

It has often been observed that such issues have been of less politial consequence in the independent sub-Saharan African states than in the South Asian States. The selection of official languages has not generally involved or given rise to inter-ethnic tension or conflict; nor has the selection of nations' languages in the few areas where these have been designated. Commentators have generally attributed this absence of conflict to such factors as the high degree of linguistic diversity in most African states; and (correspondingly) the small size (relative to India for example) of most ethnic and language groups within the independent states. The absence of standard languages that might serve as focal points of 'linguistic nationalism'[4] has also been remarked upon. Most significantly, in my view, most African states 'inherited' from the colonial regimes political, economic, social and in some cases artistic institutions in which the language of the colonial power was characteristically employed, and have maintained these through the offices of a bureaucracy whose members are trained to work in the second language. (Rustow, p. 154 Emerson, 1963 Whiteley, 1969, p. 549 Fishman, 1968, p. 46).

In recent years, however, issues relating to the selection of national languages and of official languages other than English, have been matters of frequent discussion and debate among intellectuals[5] in Kenya and in other states in Eastern Africa including Uganda, Zambia and Malawi. One reason for this can be found in the influence of Tanzania where the national language policy is an integral part of a political programme whose socialist populist and nationalist elements appeal strongly to many educated East Africans.

The decision taken by members of the ruling party in Kenya to lay emphasis upon the status of Swahili as the national language cannot be accounted for in terms of some form of cultural diffusion, however.[6]) It has been the experience of all the independent states in Africa that as economic and social planning increases the rate of mobilization it also increases the demands made on the Government. The great expansion of educational facilities in Kenya and other independent states has resulted in a corresponding increase in the numbers of citizens educated for much of their school lives in a second language--for many of whom work is not available. In the competition for employment and, more generally, for the allocation of limited resources, ethnic rivalries are exacerbated and the general consciousness of national unity developed during the campaign for independence is dissipated.

In such circumstances one would expect emphasis to be given to those elements

of national life and those institutions that attest to the actual or potential socio-cultural unity of members of different ethnic groups. Swahili, which is widely spoken in an attenuated form as a second language by Kenyans, is potentially one such element. In political terms the function of Swahili as a 'neutral' medium of communication is made possible by the fact that its use is not associated with a numerically major ethnic group. But this fact may also serve to explain the absence of any organizations or interest groups with widespread support whose members are willing to devote the resources available to them to support the functional or formal diversification of the language. There was little indication before 1970 of any strong associational pressure or widespread popular demand for a change in policy but it has to be recognized that many of those who might support the policy change would not make use of the national press, for example, as a means of interest articulation. Nor were any systematic attempts made prior to this time to emphasize the integrative functions of the language. Professor W. H. Whiteley has remarked upon the contrast between Kenya and Uganda in this respect.[7]

In August, however, the Governing Council of KANU, the ruling party, under the chairmanship of the President passed a resolution to the effect that 'Swahili as our national language shall be encouraged and enforced by all means and at all places in Kenya and that Swahili be used in our National Assembly.' Subsequently, in April 1970, the acting secretary general of the party announced plans for the extension of the use of Swahili as an official language.

The provisions of the 1970 plan called for radical changes in language use by individuals and institutions.[8]

During the first phase of implementation, which commenced at the time of issue, it was required that 'all Kenyans shall speak in Swahili at all times either to fellow Kenyans or non-Kenyans whether officially or non-officially, politically or socially.'

During phase II, the KANU statement continued,

> the official language in all Government duties will be conducted in Swahili. Law Courts and places of higher learning will be exempted during this period. The President, Ministers and Government officials shall communicate to all people whether Kenyans or foreigners or aliens in Swahili using an interpreter if necessary.

Other significant extracts from the statements are as follows:

> All civil servants in all Government, quasi-Government bodies, and in the Diplomatic Service will have to pass oral and written Swahili tests. Promotion, demotion or even forced retirement will depend and be based mainly on the outcome of these tests...
>
> All future candidates for the National Assembly, County Councils, municipalities, or any of the elected bodies shall be made up of people who can address a group of people in good Swahili for a duration of not less than ten minutes.

"In primary and secondary schools," the statement continued "Swahili would be given more prominence in the school syllabus than English." Either a central institute or regional institutions would be established in which Swahili would be taught. The statement allowed for the use of English in official documents, and in the law courts and places of higher learning during the period of implementation, which extended to 1974.

Judged by criteria derived from a consideration of planning processes of the kind discussed by Professors Jernudd and Das Gupta in Can Language Be Planned?, the scheme would be thought seriously deficient. No mention is made of the financial and human resources that would be required for its implementation or of the agencies that would be responsible for implementation, evaluation and revision of the plan, for example.

I hope that what I have said earlier will have served to indicate, however, that the statement of policy should not necessarily be judged according to such criteria. Considered in terms of its objectives the plan should be interpreted as a political act which had the primary objective of conveying to Kenyans, perhaps for the first time, a sense of the importance of the language in the 'life' of the

nation.[9] Resolutions of the party have no legal status and the statement was generally interpreted as an exhortation rather than a series of commands and as a warning of future developments

The immediate effect of the policy statement, as far as this could be observed, was not to affect in any way the extent to which English was used as the medium of 'official' correspondence and communication--this was clearly not the purpose of the statement. It was to discourage the use in face-to-face communication in central government offices of languages exclusively associated with one of the major ethnic communities.

If and when further steps are taken to restrict entry to the public service to those who are able to use 'good' Swahili with a degree of facility, some resistance to the measures on the part of members of the major linguistic communities is to be anticipated; and if it is required that the language be used much more extensively in official documents, opposition to the measures from senior members of the civil service is to be expected. I personally consider that the degree to which any radical changes can be made in matters relating to official language allocation in the near future in Kenya and in the other East African states will depend largely on the extent to which party control over the bureaucracy is effective.

The bureaucracy as 'a central focus around which clusters a whole series of social actions designed to meet systemic goals' (Hoserlitz, p. 171) may be expected to present a degree of resistance to policies that do not accord in some repects with the requirements of efficient economic planning and development.[10] Additionally, as regards language policies it may be expected that those who have attained official positions partly as a consequence of their knowledge of the primary language of administration will not in all cases actively prosecute policies which might serve, in time, to offset the value of this qualification. (cf. Myrdal, p. 350; Kearney, p. 24).

The fact that leading politicians are also in many cases ministers of government does not minimize the differences of approach and method that are in some respects characteristic of the politicians and bureaucrats in seeking their different objectives. Political expediency frequently affects the extent and type of planning that can be carried out. Mr. A. L. Adu, the distinguished African civil servant, has observed that 'Ministers are impatient to get on with the programmes they have set before them . . .they find in the circumstances, that the Civil Service machinery is too ponderous for their purpose and too deliberate in its procedure for examining and implementing policies' (Adu, 1965, p. 230). Whether one can interpret such differences of objective and method in terms of a form of conflict between 'authenticity' and 'modernization' naturally depends on the circumstances.

In this paper I have made the point that it is inappropriate to attempt to interpret or criticize political acts relating to language allocation in terms of a theory of planning such as that outlined earlier. I have not, however, attempted to postulate criteria by which the effectiveness of the statemtnt on language allocation might be assessed in the light of the political situation in Kenya at the time the announcement was made. The criteria by which one judges the efficacy or appropriateness of a political act will be partly determined by one's own political presuppositions or beliefs. J. V. Neustupny, for example, suggests four 'general principles (criteria)' that might be included in a 'full typology of principles (criteria) for "language" policy viz. Development, Democratization, Unity and Foreign Relations' (i.e. communication with other specific communities). (In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968). Similarly, one's opinions about kinds of language behaviour that might appropriately be subject to the attention of a planning agency and about the methods that might legitimately be used to enforce conformity will be affected by such beliefs.[11] C. Kelman, for example, admits to a 'general bias against deliberate attempts by central political authorities to create a sense of national identity whether by a policy of establishing a national language or by any other means' (Kelman, p. 37).

While I do not question the fact that consideration of these issues is within the academic purview of those concerned with language regulation, within the educational system or otherwise, it is apparent that linguists who are also non-nationals are not ordinarily competent to assess accurately the effects of policy statements such as the one I have been considering. Perhaps therefore, the most immediate and positive contribution that such scholars can make is by way of continuing to develop a framework of analysis with reference to which forms of language regulation can be systematically described and analysed in relation to relevent aspects of social, political and economic development; and a more exact and ultimately scientific nomenclature with which related questions can be discussed.

The process has scarcely begun.

This is the draft of a paper prepared for discussion at the Language Planning Interest Group session of the Georgetown Roundtable Meeting, March 1972.

NOTES

[1]The term 'lugha ya taifa' (lit. language of the nation) is frequently used in discussion of the national language question and it is open to a number of interpretations as is the phrase lugha ya serikali (lit. language of government) which is generally used in discussion of official language. Political leaders and commentators do not always draw distinctions between the categories of national language, common or 'linking' language and official languages. (cf. Das Gupta, 1971, p. 37) or between the various interpretations that each of these terms can be given. In this paper I am using the term official language as it is used by discussants in Kenya to refer to the languages used by officials in carrying out their duties in the executive, legislative or judicial sectors. By primary official language I mean a language in which the legislation of a state is enacted--though it is not clear whether it is the intention that Swahili will in fact be used for this purpose after 1974.

[2]As no such activities are currently being undertaken in Kenya with regard to Swahili I do not intend to discuss the difficulties inherent in such planning.

[3]I am using the term bureaucracy to refer to all civil servants, though it is the civil servants at the upper administrative levels whose views have a direct bearing on policy formulation.

[4]The term is used by S. J. Tambiah with reference to the independence movement in India. (Tambiah, 1967).

[5]I am using the term 'intellectuals' in the sense Edward Shils used the term viz. 'all persons with an advanced modern eductation and the intellectual concerns and skills ordinarily acsociated with it.' (Shils, 1962, p. 198). Shils' discussion of the socialist and populist elements in the politics of the intellectuals of developing countries, insofar as these derive from their nationalist preoccupations and aspirations, is illuminating though inevitably oversimplified.

[6]The status of Swahili as the national language had been asserted on a number of occasions prior to 1970. The President's use of the language on formal state occasions had been taken to indicate this. He had also stated that Swahili would eventually be used as a language of debate in the National Assembly; but such motions as were introduced into the Assembly relating to the use of Swahili as an official language had, when passed, been amended to provide for its introduction, alongside English, 'as soon as was practicable'. The amendments were made primarily for reasons relating to what one minister describec in 1966 as 'the insurmountable practical difficulties in translating our laws and other legal and quasi-legal documents into Swahili. The revised Constitution issued in April 1969 reaffirmed that 'the business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English. The demands of 'efficiency' were apparently regarded as paramount by those who made this last decision. (cf. Forman, 1971).

[7]'Tanzania is, in one sense, no less trifocal than Kenya, but she has chosen to place her emphasis differently; by having Swahili linked with her political ideology, Tanzania makes it possible for the language to act as a continuing force for unity. Kenya, by stressing the importance of the trifocal division of language behaviour has not been able to utilize any one language as a unifying force but must continually reckon with their divisive potentialities. Both countries, however, are faced all the time with the need to reconcile the competing claims of modernity and authenticity. At any given moment, political decisions may appear to favour the one rather than the other, and it is in the light of the need for periodic shifts in emplasis that any policy should be judged.' (Whiteley, 1971, p. 156).

[8]At the time of the issue of the plan in April 1970 the official language of the National Assembly and of the High Court was English. While there were no regulations governing the use of different languages by civil servants English was also the language in which official correspondence was generally conducted. In the educational system, the introduction of English as the initial medium of instruction

in primary schools had been rapidly extended after the attainment of Independence in 1963, and in 1970 the majority of the schools in the country employed the 'English-medium' system. In the government-controlled broadcasting system, programmes in English and Swahili were broadcast throughout the day and there were additional programmes broadcast on a third channel in fourteen other African languages, in Hindustani and in the Kimvita dialect of Swahili.

[9]Hoserlitz maintains that social institutions can be generally classified as having functions relating to the fostering of what he terms latency, integration goal-gratification and adaptation. In each of the countries of East Africa formerly colonized by Britain the primary role of the party organization might be interpreted as thatof serving the integrative need of fostering a consciousness of national identity.

[10]'On almost every level the demands of economic efficiency are sure to conflict at some point with the demands of political expediency. . .' (Deutsch and Foltz, 1963, p. 125).

[11]Questions at issue in the regulation of human behaviour are increasingly being discussed in connection with the formulation of 'cultural policy' (Unesco 1969, 1970a, 1970b, p 12). Insofar as these discussions serve to direct attention to the ways in whcch the control and organisation of human behaviour presents problems which are not encountered in processes associated with the management of material resources, they should be of direct interest to those concerned with language planning.

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SOME STUDIES IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Evelyn Hatch

Workpapers are supposed to be about work. The problem is that I have spent so much time talking this last year that I haven't done any. So, instead, I'm going to tell you what I've learned by talking to some of the people who are into language acquisition and by listening to our graduate students at UCLA. I'll try to relate what they have found out about children learning languages to some of our notions about teaching language.

Let's back up a bit and look at some of our oldest saws about how people learn languages. I'm sure you've heard over and over that the child learns his mother tongue by imitating his mother--why else call it the mother tongue? And imitation has always been an important part of aural-oral language programs. The mother smiles when the child says mama, and gives him a cookie if he says cookie. We give our students a gold star when they can repeat-after-me without error. I exaggerate of course. But that this can account for language learning is obviously highly improbable.

First of all, what does the child mean when he says mama? Does he mean his mother, everybody in sight, or, as Anne Wingate (1972) points out in her excellent report on a child's acquisition of English phonology and semantic system, does it mean just the baby sitter and the mother? You've heard children use one word for doggy, then generalize that to all furry animals, to fuzzy towels, to fur coats, who use cookie for all round objects from button to the moon; who use tran for train, then train noises, then whistling teakettles. Ms. Wingate's child at the moment uses cookie to mean give me. My daughter started out with mama as her word for me. When she acquired 'mor (her form of bedstemor) for her grandmother, then it became the word for me too. Mama was the name for some of the other females that she met and mor was used for others. It took a while to figure out that mor was +female +glasses and mama was for +females-glasses. Those of you who work with very young bilingual children will have many examples, I'm sure , to add to this list.

This is a child phenomenon; older second-language learners are very careful about extending their guesses about lexical meaning, perhaps because they already have a semantic system. If anything, they seem to under- rather than over-generalize on meaning of vocabulary items.

But what we really want to know is what strategies does the child use to say what he wants to express? Can imitation account for his acquisition of sentence structure? Does he imitate and memorize sentences and, from them, make analogies about sentence structure that permit him to make up new sentences?

Slobin, his associates, and students at Berkeley have amassed data on child language learning of over 35 languages. If you look at Table 1,* taken from one of Slobin's (1970) many good articles on child language, you will see that at the two-word stage, children learning these many different languages try to express relationships in very similar ways. The relationships that the child tries to express far outstrip his linguistic ability to express them. An utterance like "Mommy+++book" may mean subject object (Mommy is reading a book), genitive (It's mommy's book), conjunction (There's a picture of a mommy and a book), locative (The picture of mommy is in the book) depending on the context.

Look at the row marked negation. The English-speaking child starts out expressing negation as shown on the chart with the neg marker usually at the beginning of the utterance

No play that
Not cowboy

In the next stage, the child has moved the negative inside the utterance:

I no taste that.
That no daddy.

As he develops the aux, he attaches the neg to it:

I didn't did it.
Don't bite me.
Ho won't bite.

*Table 1 is reproduced in the Appendix.

Notice that while be is still missing, you get neg sentences like "I not hurting him." and "I not a doctor." Clearly the child is not being taught these language forms by his mother via imitation. How many mothers go around saying "no wash" or "that no cookie"? The child himself is learning the language through a series of rules he works out about language.

The early speech of children has been called telegraphese. Universally, young children "leave out" prepositions, conjunctions, the be copula, particles, and sometimes articles. Word order, however, is a very strong organizing force. So strong, in fact, that subject-verb-object quickly becomes the only accepted assignment for an NP-V-NP sequence. Children will interpret both

The dog is chasing the cat
The dog is chased by the cat

as a dog chasing a cat because the first noun has to be the subject and the one following the verb must be the object.

Intonation is also carefully attended to. Children recognize question intonation and will answer when they hear it. The answer will be the answer to some question but, as Susan Erwin-Tripp has often pointed out, it may not be the answer to the question asked. The child has not yet separated the wh-elements according to their referents.

So in a sense we can say that syntax (as word order constraints) and intonation take precedence over the acquisition of morphological endings. Noun markers like articles, plural and possessive endings, tense markers like -ed, case markers like prepositions, and equationals like be do not appear in the early speech of children:

Want two flower. (plural)
That Billy toast. (poss.)
He buy that? (no tense, or do support)
You a cowboy? (no be)

When these forms are acquired, children very frequently double mark. You hear things like "jumpses" "gotted" "my's" "did-ed" until the child gets them all sorted out again.

From my own experience in learning language without instruction, I can assure you that adults do the same thing. Like children, adults strongly supplement their early attempts to make themselves understood with hopefully disambiguating gestures and word stress. Hearing a question intonation, they answer whatever seems the most likely question rather than the one asked. Inflections, case endings are ignored. Words are listed out in their base forms and, when the inflections are acquired, double marking occurs.

I'm sure you've noticed how easy it is to get ESL students to revert back to base forms or "telegraphese" when they run into difficulty making themselves understood. And you can do the sme thing to ESL teachers if you try, as in this recorded exchange:

T: What I want you to do is to take the example, making it less, if you possibly can, like the model.
S: Take . . . model?
T: Take. . .the example. (Points to page.)
S: Yes.
T: Yes, you see, and just make it less like the one here.
S: Yes?
T: Write. . .one. . .different
S: Write. . .sentence. . .different?
T: Right.

Slobin has also hypothesized that morphological endings are universally learned before preposed ones. Sort of a backward build-up process. His examples are from languages other than English but we can illustrate the sequence for the child in English. When the learner wants to express the concept of something happening at the moment of speaking he begins by using now, then at a later stage adds the morphological ending -ing to the verb, and finally gets the rest by adding be and marking it for tense:

Q: What are you doing?
C: I dance now. (1st stage)
C: I dancing now. (2nd stage)
C: I'm dancing now. (final stage)

This may sound familiar to those of you who teach adults. How many times have you heard this same progression from your students despite your hopes that they will

acquire the complete present continuous as a chunk via imitation and practice? If the child and the student both seem to be moving through a series of stages in acquiring a structure, couldn't we at least speed them up a bit by expanding on these "ungrammatical" telegraphese sentences? Courtney Cazden (1965) tried to find out. To test what Piaget has called The American Syndrome in Education--the compulsion to speed up everything--she assigned preschool children to three groups. In the experimental group the tutors were trained to expand the child's telegraphese into a full sentence before continuing the conversation, giving him the corrected model to hear each time. In group 2, the tutor was instructed to listen and respond to the child as if he had used a full form. The group 3 tutors were given no special instructions. So in group 1 if the child said something like "John+++trike??" the tutor would say, "Where's John's trike?" The tutor in group 2 might say: "There it is." No one knows what the tutors might do in group 3. Which group do you suppose showed the greatest growth in language development after this kind of exposure? Right, group 2 where the tutor just answered the child. Perhaps your corrections are heeded more carefully by your language learners. Do you have a good chance to try the experiment on your own? If you try it, let me know how it turns out.

Can it be that the notions about the rule of imitation and generalization are completely wrong? Certainly imitation does play a part in language acquisition. The child has to be exposed to a language to learn it, but the examples given so far should, I hope, convince you that the child brings more to the learning process than a blank slate to be filled in by his mother or by you, the teacher. The examples, so far, have all been of first language learners. Perhaps imitation is much more important for the child learning a second language. Perhaps second-language learners don't use the same strategies at all. Perhaps it's true that "second languages are <u>taught</u> while first languages are learned or acquired naturally."

Joseph Huang, one of our graduate students, was very much interested in this question. He found a four-year-old child, Paul, who had just arrived in this country. Paul was enrolled in a playschool and attended every weekday from 9:30 to 12:00. His exposure to English outside this non-instructional play situation was nil. Mr. Huang observed Paul daily at the school. The first two weeks were unsettling because Paul said nothing while in school, though he did say "freeway" and "car" on the way home and responded to "hello" and "good morning." True, he "sang along" during music, he followed instructions quickly by observing what the other boys and girls did, and he made "car noises" on the play yard. He smiled and laughed a lot, and maintained plenty of physical contact with the other children and with the teachers. If he hadn't so obviously enjoyed himself, if he hadn't been so outgoing, we would have been very discouraged. If you look at Table 2, you will see that his first English utternace was a repetition: "Get out of here." And two days later, when Mike tried to get a bike away from him, he remembered it: "Get out of here." It worked. For the first month, then, it seemed that Paul was learning by imitation. He might repeat the sentence immediately after the other person said it, or he might remember and use it later in the appropriate situation.

Then, as you can see, during the second month a very interesting thing happened. A second kind of utterance appeared in profusion. If you look at the column labeled rule formation, you see that they are exactly the same kinds of data that you see in first language acquisition. Since we looked at negation before, just scan the column for Paul's formation of negatives. They are obviously the same as those of a first language learner at the elementary stage, quite different from the "Don't touch that" or "Don't touch" of the imitation column.

Quite clearly two separate and very distinct strategies were running along side by side. After week 12 it became increasingly difficult to separate out imitation since Paul's rule stages moved so fast that he quickly caught up with the language as it was spoken by the other children at the playschool.

Let's backtrack to week 10. You will see that two new strategies are being practiced and they look very similar to many of the techniques we use in the ESL classroom. Look at the column labeled drill practice play. When Paul was engaged in egocentric speech--that is, speech directed at no one particularly--he did something close to simple substitution drills. Sometimes the substitutions made sense, sometimes they didn't. He also seemed to practice sounds, especially the /s/ and /š/ sounds as you can see in the first two lines. He did a lot of "This is + Noun" practice while looking at pictures. My favorite is the one that starts "This is telephone." If I ever do simple substitution drills with students again, I hope I allow for an "Oh. Wonderful." along the way.

The other strategy is something like our expansion drills. But here Paul is

Table 1
4 Processes in 2nd Language Acquistion
Data on a Chinese child collected by Joseph Huang

Week	Imitation	Rule Formation
2	Get out of here.*	
4	It's time to eat and drink.* Let's go. Don't do that. Don't tough.	
6	Are you ready? See you tomorrow. Excuse me. Hold my hand.* Kenny, sit down.	This+++kite. Yeah, that+++bus. Ball+++no.
7	Are you going too?* It's time to go home.* Here we go.* Scoot over.*	This+++money? Paper+++this. Cow+++this. Mother+++no. Tree+++no. No+++ball. wash hand? Two cat.
8	I'll see you. You shut up. What do you like? Hi, how are you?* We are going home.	Kenny car. This good. This ball? This+++boat. This+++paper. No ice cream. No candy. Ball doggy?
9	How are you doing?* This is mine.	No money. No turtle. No more truck. Paul+++baby. This+++freeway.
10	Get out of here. Scoot over. All the birds up in the tree now that spring is coming...(singing)	This not box.
	Sentence & Topic Expansion	Drill Practice Play
10	This ice cream. This is ice cream. Bird. This is bird. Wash hand. Wash your hand.	fish push baby bobby Paul ball fish ship say see say see Good boy doggy, good boy sure, good boy Brent.
11	Doggy jack. Daddy's jacket. This mine. This is mine. Kenny. Kenny's. This boat. This my boat.	bird...happy birthday. Happy birthday to Jim. Happy birthday, Paul Chen. Baby pu-pu, Bobby pupu, don't pu-pu. Mommy money. This is + Noun
12	I want this. I want this one.	Push it, push it, pushing, push.
14	Hand dirty. This hand is dirty. Let's go. Get out of here. Let's get out of here. Let's go. Let's go on the freeway.	This is telephone. Open the door. This is whistle. Open the window. Oh! Wonderful! I'm open the table. This is batman. Black hat. Yellow hat. Black cat. Dangerous. Freeway is dangerous. Car is dangerous.

*The utterance was repeated immediately after someone else had said it. All other imitations were delayed and used appropriately.

doing both the teacher "This...ice cream" cue and the expansion, "This is ice cream." These utterances were not always made one after the other: sometimes pauses and other utterances came in between. Some of the later data consists of putting two sentences together: "Let's go. Get out of here. Let's get out of here." You almost expect a transformational arrow to flash on.

The data collected by Mr. Huang (1971) shows that at least two processes are at work in second language acquisition. The person brings with him a great capacity to create language by rule formation. At the same time he is also capable of storing, repeating, and remembering large chunks of language via imitation. He can repeat these chunks immediately or store and recall them for use in an appropriate situation. While he is still at the two-word stage in rule formation, he can recall and use longer imitated sentences. He also "practices talking" with techniques similar to those used in some ESL classes.

Contrary to expectations, Paul did not try to use his first language at the playschool. And he seldom asked for translation of what he heard. A few times when he was asked to explain what had happened to him at school, he was able to translate what had been said to him with accurate semantic information, but he always kept the two languages separate, he did not mix.

While all teachers are very much aware of language mixing and switching, few examples of language switching or mixing by children have been collected or studied. Nancy Knutson has noted occasional attempts of Anglo children immersed in the Culver City Spanish kindergarten to mix Spanish vocabulary in their English sentences. And we all have heard teachers complain about children who "don't speak English and don't speak Spanish either" as though mixing the languages showed that they were functionally incapable of using either language.

Aiko Uyekubo, a graduate student, has been investigating language mixing and switching in the Japanese-American community of Los Angeles for her M.A. thesis. She has collected data both from children and adults who are code-switchers.

One of the notions teachers have held is that the child may substitute a word from one language while speaking a second language because he just hasn't developed the vocabulary to express himself well.

Ms. Uyekubo presents the following examples which, at first glance, seem to uphold this view:

Football no field mo iku no. (We're going to a football field, too.)
Dean no, koko no...dinosaur no bone ga aru yo. (Dean's of these...there are dinosaur bones, you know.)
Koko ni skin to nail to blood ga haitteru no. Mienai no. (In here there are skin, nail and blood, you see. You can't see it.)

It appears that English nouns were used because the child did not know the equivalents in Japanese. But is this true?

Here is one of Donald Lance's (1969) examples from Spanish-English bilingual children;

C: Cuentame del juego. (Tell me about the game.)
R: Primero they were leading diez pa 'nada.
C: Isssh. Y luego?
R: Then there was our team to bat and we made...cimos dos carreras. And then ellos fueron a batear. Hicieron dos...And they beat us by five runs.

If you look at the underlined sections of Robert's second speech, you see that he has the vocabulary and linguistic structure to say whatever he wants in either language. He can talk about which team is up and how many runs were made in both languages.

Here is another Japanese-English exchange; the speakers are father and son.

C: Booto ni ride shitai no. (I want to ride on a boat.)
F: Booto ni ride te nani. (What do you mean "ride" on a boat?)
C: Iii....
F: Booto te nani suru mono? Taberu mono? (What are you supposed to do with a thing called boat? Something that you eat?)
C: Tabenai yo. (You don't eat it.)
F: Nani suru mono? (What do you do then?)
C: Noru no. Booto ni noru...no...noritai. (You ride on it. I want to ride on it. [pauses indicate correction of verb conjugation])

Not only did the child know the word but in some cases the children in Ms. Uyekubo's study group used both vocabulary items, one from each language, for emphasis: "Ann wa girl, on'na" (Ann is a girl, girl). Kore mo also nai. (This also, also doesn't have it).

Obviously many of our assumptions about mixing and about language switching are inadequate if we believe it occurs because the child is deficient in his acquisition of one or both of his languages. Of course, some mixing can be accounted for by saying that certain vocabulary items are not known in both languages. But this cannot account for most of the data. Ms. Uyekubo's thesis contains a discussion of a number of causes for mixing and switching but those that appeal to me most are that when you speak to another bilingual and you know that person is also a "switcher", you can first of all identify yourself with the listener and then you can improve on your story-telling style by both switching and mixing. It gives more humor to a story, more pathos to sad events, more embarrassment at unusual happenings. You are able to express yourself and your feelings as well as those of other people in the story by using both languages. You can quote your son's teacher in English while you tell the story in Japanese:

> Adult: "Oh no, D., do you think monkeys can fly? te ittara ne. "I don't know," te yuun datte. Soshitara minna ga, "Maybe he saw one. Where did you find it?" te yuutta te. Minna wa waa te yuun datte. She says, "He could take some people's criticism," te ne.

Notice that in the last sentence she says "she says" twice, once in English and then after the speech in Japanese (te ne).

Or you can tell a story in English and quote speakers in Japanese:

> Adult: So O. said, "Rien, shitara nihon de rien shitara, namae ga Kawaru deshoo?"
> (So O said, "If divorced, if divorced in Japan, the name will change, right?")

Here is another example from Gumperz and Hernandez (1970) to show how acute embarrassment can be covered up via two languages: The speaker has been "caught" with cigarettes after having given up smoking.

> Yeah, se me acababan los cigarros en la noche, I'd get desparate, Y ahi voy al basurero a buscar, a sacar, you know....no habia que yo traia cigarros Camillo, no traia Helen, no traia yo, el Sr. de Leon, and I saw Dixie's bag crumpled up, so I figured she didn't have any, y ahia ando en los cuniceros buscando a ver donde estaba la...I didn't care whose they were.

It's hard to break the cigarette habit.

How much switching and mixing occurs in the classroom as the bilingual child responds to a variety of social situations, to monolingual and bilingual teachers? No one seems to know. Do you encourage switching but discourage mixing? Do you want the children to switch back and forth between the two languages according to the situation of the moment but not want him to switch in mid-sentence or to mix the two languages together for stylistic effect? Can the children who do mix this way when talking with other bilinguals keep the two languages separate when talking with monolinguals? From the data that I have seen so far, it seems that they can, and that they do. The "switchers" and "mixers" that I know only switch and mix when they are fairly sure that the person they are talking to will understand both languages. I may be quite wrong about this. I do know of dialect mixers who are not able to. This, however, may be because of teacher and social attitudes toward the first dialect and the conscious effort of most teachers to change the child's language.

When you look at Elementary ESL books--the books used to train the young child in ESL--you will find that most of them are organized around the same sequence of lessons as the adult books. They begin with be, go to present continuous, to the "going-to" future, etc. We assume that what is a sensible sequence for teaching an adult must also workf for the child. I know you have heard me complain about this often enough that you don't need to hear it again. But I want to remind you that while children have developed the basics of language by the time they go to school, there are still many of the finer points that Anglo children have not "mastered."

Many of these finer points are exactly the ones that we try to get ESL children to master in their English lessons. Just remember that Anglo kids mix up mass and count nouns, they call the teacher not only "mommy" but "he," they get mixed up about before/after/ unless/although/if-then, they say "jumpses" and "mices" and "make-ted" too, they can't figure out how to respond to ask AND tell either (T: Ask your friend what she has." C: "A rabbit.") Many of the things we work so hard to teach ESL children have not yet been straightened out by Anglo children.

You may say that you can easily tell a "child" error from a "dialect" error or an "interference" problem. Many of you who went into ESL teaching after working with Anglo children can. But for many of us it's not so easy. We make too many assumptions on the basis of what we know about Spanish, about Cantonese, about Black English. As an example, here are some sentences collected from 4th grade children:

> Larry a fas reader.
> The coach he resses up Bibby.
> He on the other site.
> ...and den we do to.

Looking at them, I can say, yes, it's dialect interference: consonant cluster simplification in fas, devoicing of final consonants in site, be deletion, pleonastic pronoun, d/th substitution. Would you be surprised if I found duplicate examples from Anglo children? Or from Chicano students? You shouldn't be.

Perhaps interference errors are easier to spot and be sure of in adult learners. Here is "Gloria in America," a dictation passage written by a university student:

> Glloria Grolia Glloria is now United States. She is Afraid speack English. Yesterday she was afraid to go in to bakery to buy some Cake. She was afraid her English too bad. Glloria likes nice things. she likes to see movies buy play close, have many frends. She hope she can do all things in U.S.

Another of our students, Henrietta Bassan, decided to look at some of the spelling errors of 3rd grade children in a Hebrew-English bilingual school. Her first reaction on collecting the data was that there was truly a tremendous amount of interference from Hebrew in English spelling errors. Then, to make sure, she replicated her data collection procedure with Ango children at a nearby school. With a few exceptions, the errors matched. It is quite possible that the bilingual sample used by Ms. Bassan for her study group was biased, but I think her results should make us think twice about the errors we expect our students to make--the way we predict errors and then find them. Perhaps it blinds us from seeing other real problems and planning for them as well. Would you, for example, spend all your time with Gloria and pretty clothes in the above passage because you know that's r/l confusion and forget about speack AND frends?

Certainly many of our predictions are true; we can expect that some things will be difficult for children learning English. Frequently these are problems that all children have at that particular point in their language, physical and emotional development. Many adult learner problems are also shared with adult native speakers--spelling and composition problems. We should be aware that they are shared problems and plan our approach with that in mind.

What I have wanted to say in this paper is that we truly know very little about how either children or adults learn a second language whether in a natural setting or in school. All of us need to look long and hard at our assumptions about how people learn languages. We need to know whether learners of various ages use the same strategies (Guy Butterworth's thesis will report on an adolescent learner of English). We need to know more about language interference, not just in pronunciation but in reading, spelling, and writing. What have you observed? What do your students seem to be doing? What strategies are they using? What strategies are you promoting? If we can figure out what the child or adult brings with him to language learning, we can create a revolution in what we can and need to "teach" him.

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Appendix

Table 1. Functions of two-word sentences in child speech, with examples from several languages.[1]

Function of utterance	Language					
	English	German	Russian	Finnish	Luo	Samoan
Locate, name	*there book* *that car* *see doggie*	*buch da* (book there) *gukuk wauwau* (see doggie)	*Tosya tam* (Tosya there)	*tuossa Rina* (there Rina) *vettä siinä* (water there)	*en soa* (it clock) *ma wendo* (this visitor)	*Keith lea* (Keith there)
Demand, desire	*more milk* *give candy* *want gum*	*mehr milch* (more milk) *bitte apfel* (please apple)	*yeshche moloko* (more milk) *day chasy* (give watch)	*anna Rina* (give Rina)	*miya tamtam* (give-me candy) *adway cham* (I-want food)	*mai pepe* (give doll) *fia moe* (want sleep)
Negate[2]	*no wet* *no wash* *not hungry* *allgone milk*	*nicht blasen* (not blow) *kaffee nein* (coffee no)	*vody net* (water no) *gus' tyu-tyu* (goose allgone)	*ei susi* (not wolf) *enää pipi* (anymore sore)	*beda onge* (my-slasher absent)	*le 'ai* (not eat) *uma mea* (allgone thing)
Describe event or situation[3]	*Bambi go* *mail come* *hit ball* *block fall* *baby highchair*	*puppe kommt* (doll comes) *tiktak hängt* (clock hangs) *sofa sitzen* (sofa sit) *messer schneiden* (cut knife)	*mama prua* (mama walk) *papa hay-bay* (papa sleep) *korka upala* (crust fell) *nashla yaichka* (found egg) *baba kreslo* (grandma armchair)	*takki pois* (cat away) *Seppo putoo* (Seppo fall) *talli 'bm bm'* (garage 'car')	*chungu biro* (European comes) *odhi skul* (he-went school) *omoyo oduma* (she-dries maize)	*pa'u pepe* (fall doll) *tapole 'oe* (hit you) *tu'u lalo* (put down)
Indicate possession	*my shoe* *mama dress*	*mein ball* (my ball) *mamas hut* (mama's hat)	*mami chashka* (mama's cup) *pup moya* (navel my)	*tädi auto* (aunt car)	*kom baba* (chair father)	*lole a'u* (candy my) *polo 'oe* (ball your) *paluni mama* (baloon mama)
Modify, qualify	*pretty dress* *big boat*	*milch heiss* (milk hot) *armer wauwau* (poor doggie)	*mama khoroshaya* (mama good) *papa bol'shoy* (papa big)	*rikki auto* (broken car) *torni iso* (tower big)	*piypiy kech* (pepper hot) *gwen modichol* (chicken black)	*fa'ali'i pepe* (headstrong baby)
Question[4]	*where ball*	*wo ball* (where ball)	*gde papa* (where papa)	*missä pallo* (where ball)		*fea Punafu* (where Punafu)

PRODUCED BY PEOPLE: AN EXPERIMENT IN FILM MAKING

Lois McIntosh

The use of pictures to replace involved explanations has long been acknowledged as effective. We know too that a twenty-minute moving picture can show more good language teaching principles than twenty lectures could establish on the same subject.

With this in mind, a group of us decided to photograph , edit, and produce a film showing the way we teach the English language at UCLA. Production of films can be very expensive. Grant applications take months to process, and they are subject, in these hard times, to refusal. Moreover, time was running out.

Accordingly, we decided to do it ourselves. We abandoned any thoughts of a professionally produced 16mm color film, and turned to the super-eight camera so often used to make home movies. We also, as events turned out, relied on many people generously giving their time and expertise.

Our camera work was done by Nancy Barber, an experienced photographer who contributed her camera, her time,and her skill. She was also the film editor. Linda Levitz, a graduate student in Theatre Arts, recorded the sound, and coordinated all our efforts.

Before long, friends in the phonetics lab were helping out with extension cords, special lights and sage advice. Buildings and Grounds provided first aid when fuses blew out and darkened the building. Extension helped with better fuses and more powerful lights. The North Campus was a friendly place with everyone pitching in.

Our only expenses were the film and its processing and a projector. on which to show the finished product. This and a copy of the edited film totaled under $600, provided by the producer. The shooting took roughly five hours in all. We covered lessons from English 832 through English 33C. We showed structured drills, communication activities, the language laboratory, an open classroom, and a master lesson in composition.

Each filming session had its moments of excitement. Sometimes the class furnished this. Often the erratic behavior of lights and fuses added to the activity unexpectedly. To capture the sound, Janet Fisher crawled around on the floor and recorded on tape, teacher and student exchanges.

The real work began when we attempted to match the developed and edited film with the taped exchanges of speech. When the sound of chalk striking the chalkboard signalled one instructor's opening remarks, we found him on film leaning over his desk addressing the class. This was typical of the problems of synchronizing.

One solution was that of substituting voice under for the real performance. Synchronization still lacks perfection. Perhaps we will one day afford a camera with cassette attachment. Perhaps a better arrangement will be invented before we try again.

After a summer of daily struggles with film and commentary, we had a finished twenty-five minute color film. Music opens it and closes it. Credits appear on the chalkboard. We move from teacher to teacher and class to class, showing rather than talking about good language work.

Many generous people, helping each other, made this picture possible. We hope they will be there when we try again.

CONTROVERSIES IN LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE TEACHING

John W. Oller, Jr.

I. WORLDS OR WORDS IN CONFLICT?

I stand before you this evening a victim of words.[1] There are many ways in which I have been and am tyrannized by them. One of the ways in which I have been enslaved by words has to do with the way they persistently press me into parsing my world. Another is that they sometimes encourage me to function within worlds which do not exist. Tonight, I set myself the task of discussing controversies in different worlds, and it was only after I saw words beginning to materialize on paper that I determined that they had tricked me again.

How, I ask you, do you distinguish between the proper subject matter of linguistics and psychology? Of linguistics and the Teaching of English as a Second Language? Of child language acquisition, and adult learning? Of teaching and learning? Of logic and language? Of communication and cognition? It seems to me that we have all been tried in the Court of Words and sentenced to jails according to our respective labels--I am a psycholinguist and you are a linguist; he is a sociologist and she is an anthropologist; they are black and we are white; he is a Chicano and I am an Anglo. They speak Chinese and we speak English. He eats fish and I eat words. . . I am sick of the Rule of Words. I think it's time for a new administration. I think it's time for Mind to gain control of Words by systematically relating them not to the fictitious and emotional worlds of name calling, but to the pragmatically real world of objects, events, consequences, and meanings.

Another of the ways that Words have oppressed me is by piling up, like rush hour traffic, inside the head. They collide, buzz, push and pull trying to get out--and they only escape through the mouth and nose, and one at a time at best. For instance, as a student, I was first "a Spanish major", then "a linguistics major", then "a specialist in the psychology of language", and after I came to UCLA and was introduced on several occasions by Cliff Prator, I became "an expert in language testing". Now, I am not sure exactly what I am or which of the above terms applies most accurately, but I am beginning to believe that in spite of what the Ministry of Words has to say on the subject, the question itself is of very little pragmatic significance--in other words, an answer to the question "What name will I be called by?" has little, if any, cash value (and now, I know, please don't tell me, I am a "materialist").

Yet another manifestation of an oppressive Word Government is that in the so-called "academic" community, hardly anything has as much snob-appeal or intellectual-clout as name calling and name dropping. When one attends a public lecture, he frequently goes away with the impression that there was a homework assignment in the presentation somewhere, but he is never quite sure what it was--the bibliographical references and dates were coming so fast that he scarcely had time to write them down much less get the meaning of what the speaker was saying--if indeed the speaker had anything more than mental constipation caused by a binding traffic jam of words.

Tonight, in what I hope is taken as a kind of plea for relevance, I am going to try to escape the Tyranny of Words in order to state some opinions, as clearly and as succinctly as I am able. If you leave here with the word "opinionated" on your lips, I will feel at least moderately successful for I can think of no greater tragedy than a mind so incarcerated by words that it cannot manipulate them well enough to formulate opinions.

When I mention names like Noam Chomsky, Albert Einstein, Paul Watzlawick, I do not do it as name-dropping, with the intention of arousing commitments to dogma or defenses against it. Nor do I wish to attempt to indicate that someone in the TESL program can mention names like Chomsky without a deep sense of religious pride in the fact that he knows the name. When I say, "Chomsky", what I have in mind is a particular member of the set of men who walk on two legs, use outdoor commodes when

indoor plumbing is not available, and are otherwise human, human beings. What I am trying to say is that I have not been converted to some new religion of which Chomsky, Einstein, or Watzlawick are founders. To quote a certain professor of linguistics in one of whose classes I recently participated, I "have not yet been sufficiently brainwashed", and I may add that unless the Rule of Words institutes some new techniques, it is not likely that I will be brainwashed.

What I will attempt to state in the following discussion, then, is my own opinions about what I regard as the opinions of other men, perhaps brilliant men, but men nonetheless. I will vigorously and cheerfully defy any attempt to be proselytized into accepting with blind faith the opinions of another mere man. I hope that you will not do anything less, and I am fully prepared for you to agree or disagree with anything that I may say.

When I first became interested in linguistics, I believe it was the result of my being victimized by Words. Somehow, a very vaguely defined course entitled Intro. to Ling. was placed on the required list for prospective language teachers. This, in fact, was a prerequisite for two other courses--the meanings of which, in my judgment, remain largely obscure to this day. They were called Appl. Ling. for Spanish Teachers, and Appl. Ling. for French Teachers. To my chagrin, I came to be of the opinion (and I hope that you will forgive me if I stop inserting the words "in my opinion" on the assumption that you will be kind enough to hear them even when I seem to be asserting an obvious fact). . .as I was saying, I came to be of the opinion that the course Intro. to Ling. was not about language at all but was about phonemes and morphemes. A little later on in my study I got into another whole area of Ling. and became acquainted with the notion "syntax" which a man named Chomsky seemed (in my opinion) to confuse with the very essence of language. By this time, I had learned, in a classroom teaching Spanish to Junior High School youngsters, that you could spend many hours with them practicing what in the Appl. Ling. courses were called "structural drills" without teaching much, if any, Spanish. (Actually, I had learned that long before and didn't really try to teach Spanish through structure drills alone because I knew, I mean I was of the opinion, that syntax, as defined by linguists, was not the central essence of language.)

II. WORDS WITH OTHER WORDS OR WITH MEANING?

In studying Appl. Ling. and reading several standard textbooks which are still being quoted by various so-called "authorities", I learned that many applied linguists actually believed that not only was "syntax" (or some equivalent notion associated with formal structure) at the heart of language, but it was so important that in order for me to learn "la lengua de mis antepasados sin acento" I would have to fight off a set of old habits in order to acquire a new set. This seemed slightly ridiculous. Not that the people who said it were ridiculous, I found them tolerably impressive. The simple fact was that I never really felt that forgetting what I already knew was a very efficient way of learning something different. Indeed, it seemed to me that, if I were as the appl. lings. seemed to be saying, fighting off my English skills in order to learn Spanish, that it should be more difficult for me to learn Spanish than it was to learn English. However, my experience contradicted this. Though there are a great many things that I find it difficult to express in Spanish, still I did not devote anywhere near the time to learning Spanish that I devoted to learning English. Nor was it more difficult for me to learn French while now battling with two sets of old habits, Spanish and English habits, that is.

Moreover, it seemed entirely unreasonable for someone to propose that in order for me to do an optimally effective job of teaching Spanish to speakers of English I first should labor through a comparison of the two languages. Nevertheless, being young and foolish, I did this and not without interest. However, I learned to my disappointment that the kind of comparison of Spanish and English that linguists had in mind was pretty much in terms of phonemes, morphemes, and occasionally syntactic structures or rules. It seemed that what the appl. lings. were proposing was a program for teaching Spanish to English speaking children based on the phonemic, morphemic, and syntactic differences between the two languages. To my mind this was something like arguing that one could best travel from Albuquerque to Los Angeles by comparing the structures of automobiles and airplanes and subsequently making a list of the differences.

As I got deeper and deeper into the study of ling. and appl. ling., I became more and more aware of a growing suspicion in my own mind. It seemed to me that the question was not so much, "Which grammatical system (i.e., which formal logic) is

best equipped to express (that is, to describe and explain) the formal distribution of language structures relative to each other?"--though there were many arguments and continue to be many on just this subject--the real question was, "What is the actual nature of language?" The answer to the latter question, I think you will agree, is crucial to both linguistics and language learning theory.

Chomsky's answer, as well as I can understand--and if you read him carefully, I think you will see that he, also being tyrannized by Words, is not entirely consistent or clear (Oller, Sales, and Harrington, 1969)--is that language is a self-contained system which just happens to be used for communication (Chomsky, 1964, 1968). He even refers to the latter function as a "derivative and subsidiary" process. I believe that Chomsky made an extremely important error in this assumption.

The claim in modern American linguistics that language is self-contained can be traced back historically at least to Leonard Bloomfield (1933). In his systematization, meaning was outside the domain of linguistics altogether. In his Syntactic Structures, Chomsky (1957) argued in much the same way that semantics was outside the domain of grammar. Neither Chomsky, nor Bloomfield, to my knowledge were sufficiently, if at all, concerned with the kinds of things that a foreign language teacher must do in order not to be a total failure--that is, he must teach his students to communicate in the foreign language.

In more recent theorizing, Chomsky, in his discussion of Language and Mind, persists in the claim that sentences are constructed independent of any external or internal stimuli. This is consistent with the semantic theory proposed by Katz and Fodor in 1963, and elaborated by Katz and Postal in 1964. Both pairs argue that the meaning of a sentence in a context is a fraction of its meaning in isolation. This argument is consistent with Chomsky's assumption that language is self-contained, but I question the validity of either his assumption or their corollary to it. Does it make more sense to say that the sentence, "This is a meeting of the GLC", has one of its possible meanings in isolation, when it is used in this context? Or, does it make more sense to say that this sentence has meaning because its components are used in contexts in general. And that, in fact, this sentence could not otherwise have any meaning at all? The answer that you give to this question has powerful implications for developmental theories of language as well as specific attempts to describe and explain the structure of language.

III. CHALLENGING THE LEADER

In 1965 when Chomsky came out with his discussion of innate ideas in his book Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, some of his former disciples were at least slightly disenchanted, but they should not have been. Obviously, if the original claim that language was a self-contained system were to survive the rigors of any kind of empirical validation whatsoever, it would have to accord with the facts of language learning. Thus, it had to be supplemented by some kind of mechanism that would help the child overcome the implicit difficulties of learning a supposedly self-contained system. I do not think that Chomsky would have found the rational notion of innate ideas half so appealing if it had not supported what, I claim, was his prior erroneous assumption.

The positing of innate ideas had several interesting effects on theories of language learning, including second language learning. For one, it gave the appearance of some kind of solution to a very important problem--namely, how people learn languages--actually, it is no solution at all. In fact, it seems to me to be no less ridiculous (in spite of the intellectual clout of the people who proposed it) than the notion that storks bring babies. It is conceivable that there might be a world where babies are brought by storks, but who cares? The asserted importance of the theory of innate ideas is such that Chomsky, Katz, and others (including Jakobovits, 1969, in the realm of second language psycholinguistics) have explicitly rejected practically all of modern psychological and philosophical thinking.

Katz and Chomsky are arguing that there is no way that a child may by induction and association, with the aid of reinforcing consequences or feedback, acquire the deep structure of natural languages. The phonetic form of the language, according to Katz, is too impoverished to enable the child to make the necessary inductions and associations, because, according to Katz, they do not exist in any inducible form. The proposition that language structures and their meanings are

non-inducible is proved by the assumption that languages are self-contained--i.e., not related in specifiable or at least knowable ways to extra-linguistic contexts. If this assumption is false, and to me it seems clear that it is false, a great deal of the superstructure of transformational theory, including the positing of innate ideas, is resting on thin air. It has no foundation whatsoever.

"But," some ardent disciple of Master Chomsky will say, "who do you think you are challenging the Leader?" "Don't you realize who he is?" My reply is that I wasn't talking about a religious founder, I was talking about some of his dogmatic assumptions, which seem to me to be patently incorrect. The implication of his reasoning that assertive indicative statements like, "This is a meeting of the GLC", cannot be systematically related to extralinguistic contexts even on a "deep structure level" seems entirely incorrect. Moreover, to extend this already false implication to the case of a child learning a language and because of it to posit that he isn't really "learning" but is rather "creating" language on the basis of "innate ideas" is uproariously funny (in my opinion).

Perhaps you'll be able to persuade me that notions such as "innate ideas", "the competence of an ideal speaker-hearer" and "elaborate syntactic rules" which make no claim to connection with actual mental processes are more enlightening than the observation of the way people learn and use languages. Maybe you'll be able to convince me of this, but I doubt it.

It seems to me that the underlying issue in linguistics, psychology, and a host of related disciplines is how language users interact with their own memories, and the world around them, including other language users. There are many ways in which this problem can be attacked--and there are some methods in vogue by which it can scarcely be approached at all. One of the characteristics of healthy mental systems is that they can generate information which was not previously available to them. Another characteristic is that they utilize this information to generate still more information. This means that a natural human language is never quite static--it is constantly being used in response to and in order to create novel wholes with familiar parts. (Now I know that Chomsky doesn't like for us to define creativity as a process of analysis and re-synthesis, but this is another point on which I, and others, must disagree with the M.I.T. party-line.) In order for a linguist to deal with language as a system of interaction, then, the least unit which will provide the essential properties of creativity and feedback is a person saying, hearing, reading, or thinking an utterance with a meaning in a context. For real human beings, there is no way that any utterance can occur apart from some context. In other words, there is no such thing as "an utterance in isolation." There are only utterances which are more or less appropriate to the contexts in which they occur and this is a matter of degree, not of type.

The point of view that I am suggesting now (in my opinion) proposes a completely different kind of linguistics than has been popular in recent years. It suggests that grammars of language should describe and explain what real speakers do when they send and receive messages in the language. It suggests that models of learning should describe and explain what people do when they learn. Now, I know someone is already thinking, "What this guy wants are models of performance, not of competence." My answer is that, insofar as I can see pragmatic consequences for either of these terms, a good model of competence will explain performance and you won't need "a model of performance". In fact, it seems to me that the belated call for "models of performance" simply points to the clear fact that present so called "models of competence" are out of touch with reality. What I am doing is making a plea for relevance. If linguistics has anything worthwhile to say, it will, in my judgment, have to be about how people interact with their world, including themselves and others, through the use of language.

It seems to me that it is about time for us to put our theories nose-to-nose with the facts of language use. If they don't work, let's modify them until they do, or throw them out and get some that will. One of the places where fact and fancy do battle is in first language acquisition and use. This is an important source of data for linguistic theories. Another source is the data on second language acquisition and use. It seems to me that a linguist working with the empirical data in these areas is a great deal more apt to achieve insights into the interesting problems of language than the linguist who spends most of his time in a rocking chair philosophizing about what sentences mean in isolation. The Rule of Words that has placed us in our respective prisons, has also made it difficult for theories in conflict with empirical data to achieve the prestige of theories which make little or no claim to empirical validity. The scholar is reluctant to propose a theory that can easily be falsified because he fears for his vested interest, and this is sad

because falsifiable theories are the only kind that are apt to be of any pragmatic importance. The other kind, those which cannot be falsified, cannot be improved. In other words, I am not interested in discussing a theory of competence if Chomsky is going to try to tell me that it doesn't have to account for performance. There is a circular file for theories like that.

IV. HERE COMES THE DATA.

Having said all of the foregoing and no doubt having persuaded at least some of my listeners that if nothing else, I am indeed opinionated, I would like to shift gears and have a look at a couple of points where theory and data collide and make sparks. One of the extensions of what has been understood by "applied" linguists of what "real" linguists have been saying is the teetering tower of contrastive analysis. In an article on the subject, Wilga Rivers says,

> "Careful scientific analysis of contrasts between the learner's language and the target language [her italics]. . .is of course the distinctive contribution of the linguistic scientists, and the results of studies of these contrasts are incorporated in the materials prepared for class and language laboratory work."

and later on she states,

> . . . gradually the profession has accepted the idea expressed by Fries (1945, p. 9) that "the most efficient materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the learner" (1968, p. 152).

A host of other quotations could be given to show that contrastive analysis still has its adherents who claim that it can predict points of difficulty (though a few are paradoxically reluctant to say that it can predict errors, e.g., Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin, 1965, and Prator, personal communication) and that it still provides the best basis for the construction of materials for teaching languages.

A. A test of some CA predictions.

In order to partially test the predictive validity of CA, last year, Mrs. Inal (one of the TESL M.A. candidates) and I designed a study using a cloze test of English prepositions (Oller and Inal, 1971). We did this simply by deleting every other preposition from a passage of prose in English. We then administered the test to three groups of subjects: 19 native speakers of English enrolled in Freshman composition at UCLA; 53 speakers of Turkish at the Middle East Technical University where English is the medium of instruction; and 110 foreign students from 30 different language backgrounds entering UCLA in the winter quarter of 1970-1971. If CA has predictive validity, we should have, by comparing the prepositions required at various points in the test in English with the equivalent forms of expression in Turkish, been able to predict (all other things being equal) which items would tend to be hard and which easy for Turkish speakers. Moreover, we should have been able to predict specific errors--contrasts between English and Turkish should suggest some false equivalences that would trap the Turkish subjects but not subjects of other language backgrounds.

The test was 50 items long, and for each item for each group of subjects, a response frequency analysis was completed. In other words, in every blank on the test, we counted the number of times each separate response occurred for each of the three groups. In this way, we could test the CA predictions against the responses that actually occurred in the Turkish group. Also, we could compare the response distribution for Turkish speakers with that for native speakers of English, and UCLA foreign students. To make a long story short, we found that the predictions based on CA worked about as well for the heterogeneous UCLA foreign students as they did for the Turkish speakers, with few exceptions. Out of 50 items, there were only 12 where CA predictions were notably more accurate for the Turkish group, and these could have been accidents of the sampling technique. In comparing Turkish speaker responses with those of native speakers of English and UCLA foreign students, there were some interesting parallels and divergencies. In 20 out of the 50 items, ENL speakers and both groups of ESL speakers had quite similar response distributions.

In the remaining 18 cases, the response distribution of the ENL and ESL types diverged but were largely the same for both ESL groups.

To illustrate the foregoing and its implications, I have put three examples on the board. In the first case, the CA of English and Turkish predicted that Turks would tend to leave the item blank because there is no form equivalent to the verb particle in English. They did this in 76 percent of the cases. Here their response distribution contrasts markedly with natives and UCLA foreign students. In the items illustrated in examples 2 and 3, CA predictions, however, were not much better or were no better at all in the case of Turks than for the UCLA foreign students. Example 2 is a case where ENL speakers and ESL speakers largely agreed. Example 3 is an item on which the ESL groups pretty much agree with each other but diverged from native speaker performance (or competence, depending on how you read the data and these terms).

At the risk of appearing to overgeneralize on the basis of the scant data just discussed, and I have presented an extremely small fraction of it to you, and in addition to that, I have not even mentioned a plethora of other studies with similar results (cf. PCCLLU Papers, 1971), to my mind the results suggest some potent conclusions. (1) The data argue that CA as a method of predicting errors has a modicum of validity but not sufficient validity to use it as a basis for saying what will be hard or easy for learners of a second language. (2) The data suggest that there may be--and on independent grounds, I think we can rest assured that there are indeed--some factors other than native language interference which affect the learning and use of a second language. (3) Finally, the data support the argument that CA cannot possibly serve as the central basis for constructing language teaching materials.

E X A M P L E S *

	Item Context Abbreviated	Native Responses %	Turkish Responses %	UCLA FS Responses %	CA prediction
Example 1 (illustrating a correct CA prediction)	they sat _____ on the sea	down 42 up 21 there 16	_____ 76 down 21	down 56 _____ 12	(no form) _____
Example 2 (illustrating similar distribution on all three groups)	the foam was _____ snow	like 84 as 10	like 26 as 15 _____ 15	like 49 as 10	(gibi) like
Example 3 (illustrating contrast between natives and non-natives)	fill it _____ water	with 90 up 10	with 83	with 87	(-le, -la) with

*For the sake of simplicity, responses less than 10 per cent in frequency of occurrence are ignored.

B. A remaining riddle.

There is a further interesting fact that came to light in another phase of our data analysis which is worthy of note, but for which I have nothing more than a hint of an explanation. In addition to the analyses already mentioned, several classical test statistics were computed. Among them was a measure of item discrimination. Perhaps the best way to provide a quick definition of this term is to illustrate roughly how it is computed and for what purpose. First of all, we assume that the whole test is a better indicator of whatever skill we are measuring than the individual items in it taken separately. Also, we assume that a good test is one that separates proficient from non-proficient students. The performance of a whole group of subjects on the entire test can be compared with the performance of the whole group on each item in order to determine to what extent the individual item is contributing to the total test as a discriminator of good and bad students. Procedurally, here is what we do. We rank order the students in terms of their scores on the whole test. Then we divide that group in one of several ways and compare the performance of the good students with the bad students on each item. If the good students tend to get an item right, significantly more often than the bad students, then the item contributes positively to the discrimination between good and bad students on the whole test. If the good students, on the other hand, tend to get the item wrong more often than the bad, the item yields negative discrimination. In general, the more the items on a test tend to separate the good and bad students positively, the better is the test.

We computed item discrimination values, then, for each of the three groups who took the test. The reason for doing this with the native speaker group was to determine whether or not the test would discriminate among people with native speaker proficiency in English. It did not discriminate between the members of that group except on one or two items where, apparently, because of context, an item was misread. The interesting fact, however, was that all but two items significantly discriminated among the heterogeneous group of UCLA foreign students, whereas just over half of the items (26) failed to discriminate among Turkish speakers. Moreover, none of the items which failed to discriminate among the UCLA foreign students also failed for the Turkish group, and obviously, the converse was also true. This suggests that there is probably an important difference in the response tendencies of Turkish speakers of ESL and speakers from other backgrounds. Unfortunately, however, CA was no help to us in explaining this difference. When we compared the CA prediction for Turks and other ESL types on the 26 items which failed to discriminate the Turks, the CA predictions worked slightly better for the non-Turkish group. All I can say is that on 26 test items, performance of the Turks as a group seems to be somewhat independent of their skill as indicated by the test as a whole. For the moment, this remains a mystery.

C. Another toppling tower.

Another of the analytical techniques employed by "real" linguists and extended to practical domains by "applied" linguists is the notion that language is a self-contained system of rules and its corollary that sentences have meaning in isolation and that their meanings in contexts are in fact really only a fraction of their total meaning in isolation. One of the results of this kind of theorizing is the notion expressed by Rand Morton (1960), Nelson Brooks (1964), and in more recent days in many textbooks intended for use in teaching foreign languages (e.g., Rand, 1969a, 1969b), that a student can learn the system of language (as defined by linguists) by practicing structural patterns of language, or "scales and arpeggios", as it were, independent of the use of those patterns in contexts. Some applied linguists (including Brooks and Morton) have even rigidly maintained at one time or another that the student has to move from manipulation to communication and that the former must precede the latter. Cliff Prator, who is my friend and whom I respect as a gentleman, scholar, and administrator, and who is rightly to be regarded as a champion of language for communication, has made the above-mentioned claim in a considerably less rigid form in a celebrated article entitled "Development of a Manipulation-Communication Scale." Stockwell and Bowen (1968), whom I similarly respect, and find tolerably impressive, have made the statement that "the most difficult transition in learning a language is going from mechanical skill in reproducing patterns acquired by repetition to the construction of novel but appropriate sentences in natural social contexts" (p. vii of Rutherford, 1968).

Just for the sake of discussion, I'd like to suggest that if it is not in fact

quite impossible to do what each of the above gentlemen is advising teachers to do, it is at least very inefficient to do so. In the first place, you cannot, as Morton and Brooks suggest, learn a language without associating it systematically with the context in which it is appropriate. Moreover, there is no point in attempting to move from manipulation to communication--if in fact that can be done at all--as Prator, Stockwell, and Bowen suggest. The reason for this is that learning proceeds more rapidly if one begins immediately with communication. In a controlled experiment which employed only a 20-minute teaching experience, subjects who were immersed at the beginning in communicative activity out-performed in all respects a similar group which was given more manipulative training. The subjects who were involved in communicative activity responded more quickly to stimulus situations; their responses were more intelligible; and their phonological segmentations as indicated by prosodic features were significantly superior (Oller and Obrecht, 1968). Why bother to try to make a transition from manipulation to communication? Why not begin with communicative activity?

D. More data.

There is another area in which theoretical assertions concerning the differentiation of manipulative and communicative activities are vulnerable to empirical tests, at least indirectly. If, in fact, there is a real distinction--i.e. one that is coded into the psychological and physiological make-up of language users--between manipulative processes (structural, syntactic, deep to surface transformational, or whatever you choose to call them) and communicative processes where language is used referentially and otherwise in situations where people are cognizant of present or inferred contexts, this should be reflected in tests designed to measure manipulative vs communicative skills in second languages. To my knowledge, there is little if any evidence in the data of second language testing to support the distinction. In fact, the evidence seems to me to point in the opposite direction.

One of the ways that the theoretical differentiation of manipulative and communicative skills has found its way into language teaching situations is in the development of two fundamentally different kinds of tests. John Carroll has characterized these types as "discrete-point" versus "integrative skills" tests. A discrete-point test is one which utilizes specific questions, usually of the multiple-choice type, to find out whether or not a student has acquired a particular "piece of a language". Robert Lado's book on testing advocates the use of discrete-point items where the teacher can say exactly what the point of grammar is that is being tested. With this kind of item, if the student makes an incorrect response, the teacher can supposedly say exactly what part of the language he is lacking. Examples of discrete-point items are the vocabulary or grammar items found in the Test of English as a Foreign Language (Educational Testing Services, Princeton, New Jersey). The student reads a word or sentence with a blank in it in isolation, and then, based on his ability to guess the intention of the test writer, he selects from several possible answers the one that seems to fit. I maintain that, in general, the kind of information utilized in making responses to items of this sort is a very small and nearly insignificant part of the kind of information used in constructing and interpreting sentences in more realisitic language usage.

In contrast to discrete-point tests, typical integrative skills tests are dictations, compositions, oral interviews, and cloze tests--all of which require considerably more subjective evaluation. When a student takes a dictation, he utilizes the whole context of what he has heard at any given point in order to help him analyze and synthesize on paper the rest of the message. A look at the kinds of errors that non-native speakers make in taking dictation will show immediately that an analysis by synthesis process, in which expectations play an important part, is indeed taking place. The conversion of sound sequences into words on paper is not a simple matter of spelling as some have argued (cf. references in Oller, 1971). Similarly, writing a composition requires a highly integrative interaction between the state of immediate awareness of what has just come off the end of the pen and what came off a while ago and what is yet in the planning stages. An oral interview or conversation entails a highly complex interaction between interlocutors--much more complex than what the test writer is looking for when he prepares a discrete-point test. A cloze test which deletes words (there are several techniques, cf. Oller and Conrad, 1971) on a random basis from a passage of prose requires that the subject utilize both short term and long range constraints on context in reconstituting the passage.

So much by way of definition. Now, you ask, "How does all of this say

Table I. Intercorrelations of Part Scores on UCLA ESLPE Form 2A Revised and three Cloze Tests combined.

	I Vocabulary	II Grammar	III Reading	IV Dictation	V Three Cloze Tests Combined
I Vocabulary		.74	.74	.71	.64
II Grammar	.74		.72	.74	.72
III Reading	.74	.72		.74	.76
IV Dictation	.71	.74	.74		.80
V Three Cloze Tests Combined	.64	.72	.76	.80	

Table II. Intercorrelations between Scores on the Parts and Total Score on the UCLA ESLPE Form 2A Revised and Three Cloze Tests.

ESLPE Parts & Total \ Cloze Tests	Cloze Test I N = 132	Cloze Test II N = 134	Cloze Test III N = 129
Vocabulary	.63	.75	.71
Grammar	.73	.76	.80
Reading	.71	.78	.82
Dictation	.76	.84	.85
Total	.80	.89	.89

Table III. First, Second, and Third-Order Partials for Three Cloze Tests combined correlated with the UCLA ESLPE Form 2A Revised.

UCLA ESLPE	First-Order Partials		Second-Order Partials		Third-Order Partials	
	Cloze	Control Variable	Cloze	Control Variables	Cloze	Control Variables
I. Vocabulary	.27	II	.09*	II, III	.00*	II, III, IV
	.25	III	.10*	II, IV		
	.20	IV	.05*	III, IV		
II. Grammar	.41	I	.33	I, III	.19	I, III, IV
	.40	III	.23	I, IV		
	.29	IV	.20	III, IV		
III. Reading	.42	I	.34	I, II	.26	I, II, IV
	.41	II	.29	I, IV		
	.34	IV	.28	II, IV		
IV. Dictation	.53	I	.42	I, II	.37	I, II, III
	.48	II	.45	I, III		
	.50	III	.38	II, III		

*Failed to reach significance at $p < .001$.

anything devastating about the notion that language is a self-contained system or that manipulation is one thing and communication is another?" The answer is several fold and complex, though in my opinion, speaks directly to the issue. It is quite simply that tests of the integrative skills type are clearly superior in every measurable respect, as far as I can tell, to tests of the discrete-point type. They yield considerably higher inter-correlations with each other; in many cases they yield higher intercorrelations with discrete-point tests than those same tests do with each other (or with the former); they accord more closely with teacher judgments of student proficiency; and they require far less expenditure of time and money to construct. You may say, "Ah! but the last point is quite irrelevant to the basic theoretical issue!" Quite the contrary, expense in time and effort in test construction is quite analogous to the matter of expense in time and effort in teaching or learning. If one method yields greater cash-value, this becomes a matter of interest to theories of language use and learning.

On the board, I have given data from a study of the UCLA ESL Placement Examination which was administered in the fall of 1970 to 398 subjects (for a more complete report cf. Oller, 1971b). In Table I, the intercorrelations of a cloze task with the various parts of the entrance examination are given. In Table II the cloze task is broken down into three tests. It turns out that the more integrative in nature the task required by the test, the higher the correlations (in general) it yields with other parts of the test. In Tables I and II five different test types are intercorrelated. The Vocabulary test (40 items) requires that a student match a given word with the one among four choices that it most nearly matches in meaning. The Grammar test involves two tasks. In the first part (30 items) the student must select the correct word, phrase, or clause to fill in a blank, and in the second part (20 items) he must place words, phrases, or clauses in an appropriate order. In the Reading test, again, there are two parts. The first part (25 items) has the student select the best paraphrase for a given sentence from several alternatives, and the second part (15 items) has him choose from several possible answers the sentence that best expresses the meaning of a given paragraph. The Dictation is also in three parts. The student hears three short passages of prose (about 50 words in length) three times each: the first time, the passage is read at a conversational speed (about the rate at which I am giving this paper); the second time, the student is asked to write down what he hears while the passage is read with pauses; the third time, he hears it again with short pauses while he checks what he has written. The Cloze tests consisted of three passages of prose approximately 350 words in length where every other word was deleted. One passage came from an elementary school text for ESL, another from an intermediate college level text for ESL, and the third was an excerpt from a novel.

In Table I the tendency for integrative tests to outperform the discrete-point type is already apparent. From Table II it is evident that the slightly more difficult tests (II and III) yield higher intercorrelations than the easy one(I). Also, one can readily see from both Tables that there is a tendency for integrative skills tests to yield higher intercorrelations. A correlation of .85, for example, between Cloze test III and the Dictation is almost high enough to substitute one for the other, or to say they are yielding practically the same information. This suggests that these tests may be tapping the same underlying competence.

For Table III a more powerful statistical technique, known as partial correlation, was used. This is, in very broad terms, a method whereby the variance overlap between two variables (in our case two tests) can be eliminated while the remaining correlation between one of the two variables and a third variable is checked. When only one control variable is involved, the resulting correlation is referred to as a first-order partial; when two control variables are partialed out, the result is called a second-order partial, and so on. The first, second, and third-order partials given in Table III show clearly that intercorrelations between tests increase progressing up the scale from discrete-point to more highly integrative tasks.

All of the foregoing suggests that perhaps the underlying competence associated with language tasks is of an essentially different type than as traditionally depicted by linguists (I include here the neo-orthodoxy of Chomskyan transformationalism). It seems to me that the type of grammar best suited to cope with the data of language use and language learning is what may be characterized as a grammar of expectancies (i.e. a pragmatics grammar). Now I know that Chomsky has argued against certain so-called finite state grammars that incorporate time sequence. However, contrary to what he claims, a finite state process can have multi-levels as found in phrase structure, recursive operations, and transformational complexity (for whatever that's worth).

I also realize that Chomsky (1957, pp. 16-17) has argued against the incorporation of the notion "probability" into theories of grammar. His argument is that normal novel sentences all have a probability approximating zero--hence the notion of probability is of little use in explaining language. The argument, however, is pointless, since it would indeed be absurd to attempt to assign probabilities only to whole sentences. The fact is that what will follow in a given linguistic sequence--be it a sequence of phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, etc.--is always partly determined by what has preceded.

There are bound to be many unsolved problems and questions of which we are not yet even aware, but in spite of this, the decision to work towards a pragmatics grammar affords the initial improvement of incorporating the notion of creativity and feedback in the dynamic interactional process by virtue of which language is acquired and within which it has its continuing existence.

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WALTER MITTY: THE ALL-AMERICAN HERO

John Povey

I have repeatedly found in teaching literature to non-native speakers that the areas of misunderstanding, confusion, and downright incomprehensibility in reading are far more extensive than many teachers have recognized. We all know that our students come from different regions of the world and have different expectations of character, worth and motivation but it is hard to maintain this thought continuously in our mind. Many things we take for granted seem so inevitable, so god-ordained and natural, that it appears inconceivable that alternative attitudes and judgments can exist. I remember, as an example, my own sense of amazement on hearing that some languages did not distinguish between leg and foot, having some term equivalent to limb. I found I had to make a conscious effort of belief to accept that this, to me so obvious a distinction, was not necessarily a universal requirement. Prejudices, both linguistic and cultural, are insidious things, the more to the extent that they may remain unrecognized and stand as amorphous, invisible walls between the communication imagined by the teacher and that quite different response achieved by the student. A comprehensive self awareness is required from the teacher in perceiving the limitations that his own expectations and pre-conceptions establish. But this is not an easy task as it is equivalent to a colour-blind person being required to distinguish hues, for one is examining conceptions through precisely the distorting lens of the very perceptions which have caused the difficulty in the first place. There is the need for some objective standard--data in a sense-- to set between the student and the teacher for inspection. This becomes a kind of objective correlative of artifact, upon which cultural and emotional reactions can posited, experienced, measured and judged in interaction with the others' response.

One thing in the classroom precisely offers the means for such mutual cultural discovery. That is literature. Literature in the foreign student's classroom program, and the cultural recognitions that it permits, and even demands, is the subject of this essay. There are crucial things to say in the face of this utilization of literature. Literature, perhaps more than any other cultural artifact, has its own cultural convictions and associations. This means, that although there are various ways of interpreting a story or a novel, it is possible, with subtle qualifications, to argue that there is a <u>right</u> way, which I would define as being the way in which the author intended his readers to react (and yes, I do know all about that awkward concept of the intentional fallacy but it's beside the point here). The author's intention that makes motivation and moral judgment in the work is fixed. Thus if a foreigner reacts in a different way to an American in his reading and interpretations of an American short story it cannot be reasonably argued that many points of view are possible. The foreign reader has been simply misguided by having approached the work with non-American cultural expectations. This comment remains true even if his interpretation gives him a thoroughly satisfactory emotional reaction and is in keeping with his own context of experience. One has to accept that fact that the work itself has a cultural allegiance. Any true and honest reading must accept and share this if the author's intention is to be made apparent and the work is to have its correct effect artistically speaking.

Take an easy if extreme example of this thought. To appreciate the famous novel <u>Scarlet Letter</u> it is essential that we have some concept of the Puritan moral ethic and the possibilities it provides for divine grace and sinful guilt in all human acts. To say that 'Hester Prynne would not be blamed in my society as promiscuity is permitted," or "sexual subjugation to priests is admired and respected," is anthropologically fascinating but totally beside the point. The question does not concern other people's social customs but what happens in Hester Prynne's New England and the morality that sustains her society and dictates her principles.

This is an essential concept if what I write below is, by example, worth saying. I am not in any way indicating that alternative interpretations provided by foreign students are necessarily good ones or right ones. I am simply saying, because these are responses I have received, that a teacher may encounter something similar. A teacher may thus be alerted to the kind of reactions which--and this is the crucial point--are going on all the time in the minds of the foreign students. Their attitudes exist whether the teacher investigates and elicits them openly or

not. That fact must be constantly recognized even if the teacher's cunning, loaded and highly directed classroom questions are apparently happily eliciting all the correct responses from those generous-hearted students who are so anxious and willing to please. These correct responses are being established in anticipation of the immediately obvious direction of the solicited enquiries. They can cheerfully exist--such is the capacity of the human mind--along side discrepant and alternative responses. Yet these are the first and most private ones that are deeply set into the students' emotional psyche simply by being just those reactions that derive from the instinctively umbilical emotional and cultural attachment of his own birth experience.

This awareness of alternative concepts is a crucial factor in teaching literature to non-native speakers. Peculiar responses must occasionally deliberately be elicited so that the whole issue of alternatives is aired for teacher awareness and student discovery. There is nothing in such an exercise that directly and immediately touches upon the experience of appreciating and responding to American literature itself. It is at best only an effective beginning to examining literature by indicating that it requires close inspection and a sifting through of details. Matching these against the responses derived from personal sensitivity and awareness is the core of a subtle reading. This technique is a stage, not a target. One should not aim at creating the maximum possible series of misapprehensions and confusions as I may appear to have done. What we are assumed to be attempting is the elucidation and therefore the enjoyment and comprehension of American literature.

The target is plain. Attempts to reach it have often fallen short because of a failure to recognize the significance of the highly diversified yet deeply held, cultural attitudes and prejudices (presuppositions) which a foreign student brings to all his studies. These are particularly accute when he confronts something as highly culture-tied and localized as the literature of America. His misunderstandings are undoubtedly likely to be exacerbated by his wealth of dubious and misguided prior expectations about America derived from locally obtained misinformation about this country.

The following are a series of observations derived from teaching a single class of advanced foreign students at UCLA Their English language competence has already been screened by the TESL section here to eliminate those with the real difficulties that certainly require remedial work. The weaker candidates prior to this literature class take a series of English language classes. A remedial program, that may take up to a full year for the less linguistically prepared students (our 33A, B, C sequence), prepares students to function within the university in their fields, at least to the extent of comprehending lectures and taking notes. By manipulating even marginally adequate English they can respond in class and, with some dictionary (and, no doubt, other!) help, they are able to produce a term paper adequate in content if not always elegant in style. Generally these students have either a formal degree from a foreign university or they are in residence taking an undergraduate degree at UCLA in one of the more vocational subjects such as science or business.

For these students a special foreign student literature course has been provided, number 109j. It is intended to introduce them to the study of literature as part of the humanizing of science courses which is regularly a university aim. This course, however, is also listed as an acceptable alternative to the compulsory English I course that is obligatory to all students. There is undoubtedly a not unrealistic recognition that it is somewhat easier to complete your required English course by competing on an assumed grade point curve with other foreign students than undertaking your reading and writing presumably in direct competition with native-speaking Americans.

This is just to set a background. It must be clear from these remarks that students in this class have attained a fairly high level of English competence--at least sufficient to function readily in the university environment. Nevertheless the backgrounds of the students vary vastly in preparation, national origin and attitude towards both literature and America. There may be some of immigrant status, Germans in particular, whose English is exceptionally good. We have had a few junior executives from Sony and other Japanese firms with a real appreciation of poetry taking short courses in business administration. We also have the usual range of Persians, Africans, Pakistanis doing engineering, biology, medicine and other similarly obscure studies for the good of mankind.

Without going into a complete review of the philosophy of this course as I conceive it, which would in itself be the subject of a substantial essay, I set this

out as evidence of the kind of student with whom I am dealing, so that readers can estimate the level of response I anticipate. I can also declare my intention to introduce those students to certain of the major American writers. I make no attempt to emulate either the chronology or the structure of the average course in American literature. In this context one can well argue the irrelevance of most things written before the 1920's. There is also no particular obligation to give the students preparation for subsequent more comprehensive and substantial studies in American literature.

If there are any obvious obligations, they are two-fold. Firstly, there is the duty to provide some introductory methodology. Not only are the items read in class given the necessary appreciation and approval, but further works may later be read more efficiently in direct response to the critical techniques provided in class. All reading one hopes would be approached with greater facility and an understanding after this class. Demonstrations of appropriate methodology will permit books to be read with greater pleasure and understanding.

Secondly and beyond such specifically literary ambitions,I feel some obligation to use literature as the preliminary overture in a first comprehension of the oddities of American culture. For this reason I am more likely to want to choose a relatively culture-locked piece of literature. A story with a universal subject where the theme is less deeply attached to American attitudes and references would presumably require somewhat less explanation of attitude and context for appreciation, but it deals substantially with the concepts already known and does not press the student into different experience, the American one. The mere fact of the total Americanization of events is one element which a teacher may not legitimately disregard in the educational process required by foreign students. The American element should be recognized as a challenge towards understanding rather than a hazard to be cautiously avoided.

After all that preamble I come to my arbitrary decision to teach "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty," by James Thurber. One might argue for Thurber's literary quality. In approval of his wit and cultivated New Yorker awareness, Thurber has been somewhat neglected as a stylist. Undoubtedly he is one of the masters of that functional and effective American diction that could be a model to all. Such an argument would be specious, even deliberately evasive. one chooses Mitty because one reads it oneself with such infinite relish and delight. One wants to convey to the students some measure of one's own joyous pleasure in its skilful wit. One also recognizes that Mitty provides comic portraits of American cultural stereotypes in the meek man/dominating wife pair, the Blondie-Bumstead balance that is so typical of the American humorist's assumption.[1]

Thurber's story, as every one will remember well, tells of a husband dominated and nagged--for his own good--by his wife. He is notably incompetent in the important mechanical things by which American men measure their delusive concepts of masculinity such as driving and repairing the eternal and essential car. Mitty's only escape is into dreams that are the safety valve of his life. They make the true reality of his existence although these mental excursions are condemned by his motherly wife. She admits to seeing in them evidence only of minor medical aberrations yet probably suspiciously recognizes that they supply her husband with a blessed place free of her influence. Yet the dream-world is not only his escape, it establishes by its design visions of a world more effective in its potential and scope than the actual. Beyond the assertion that men live by imagination--the pipe dreams of O'Neill's protagonists--there is an overall condemnation of the limitations an average daily life imposes. This then develops not only as a satire of the American marriage, but a condemnation of daily expectation, none the less devastating and ruthless for being so superbly comic. It is not only the urgent need to daydream that becomes significant, but the very nature of those dreams themselves; the expectations of active escape that they generate; the ideal upon which they stand.

The dream sequences by which Mitty escapes from his bland and innocuous reality represent, in some comically exaggerated form, the ultimate dreams of American men, even those who are often relatively less tortured by feminine control than Mitty. The dream of the heroic ship captain stretches back into Moby Dick, let alone The Caine Mutiny, The noble surgeon is a topic of a thousand Tv serials. The war dream is so popular and instinctive that it has created by association the whole Snoopy Red Baron dream of the Peanuts comic strip. The last, sad revolutionary victory of the court-martialed national hero facing the firing squad is a consistent Hemingway myth.

In this way the dream sequences, no matter how improbable and imaginary,

display the most significant myths and dreams of American life. They thus provide the teacher with the opportunity not only to explain their significance within the entire context of American expectation but valuably to seek out other reactions to them, reactions which display those alternatives which derive from the students' own beliefs and expectations. For if these dreams are the measure of American cultural assumptions, ignorance of their nature is evidence of what must be taught and not merely assumed. Yet not all unusual reactions can be readily ignored. There are many comments that are highly revealing, that illuminate the work itself simply by the very unexpected nature of the angle, the directional light as it were, that plays upon items that mere familiarity has made us inadequately aware of. Sometimes too it is in our sudden dismayed antagonism to the student reaction that we learn a new truth either of greater certainty or of issues of which we had thought too little, in taking things for granted before our casual expectations were implicitly challenged by misunderstanding.

Since I would not recommend that a teacher follow too far into the dark jungles of misapprehension that I have described, it is important that I announce honestly, from the beginning, that there is an element of experiment in the classroom events and responses that I am recalling and describing here. My target, unlike my usual one of literature, was conceived to be the elucidation of student response. Some red herrings might well have been more abruptly cut off at earlier stages than they were when I was permitting speculation to continue to its inherent extremes. On other occasions I might have been tempted to guide a little more firmly in the direction that I assume to be the correct response. But these are the reactions I got on reading a well known American short story. Many of them are revealing of student attitudes to our own culture. As such they have a special interest though this remains oblique in relation to any conception of our prime task of teaching English.

There are many ways appropriate to dividing up data such as this. Perhaps as far as teaching methodology is concerned the only truly significant discrimination to be established is the difference between those aspects that are quaint but besides the point and those issues which must be understood since they are of such crucial significance to any realistic and correct interpretation of the story. The latter aspects cannot be ignored but must be rigorously pursued if there is any reasonable comprehension to be shared between teacher and student, judged against that lack of mutuality of cultures which they each bring to their classroom experiences.

One of the most curious elements of student response was the utterly random and marginal nature of the thoughts. Totally minor items that one was hardly able to recall even after several preparatory readings of the story became the occasion for a discussion of some seriousness and conviction. Perhaps there are equivalent inconsequentialities in an American student's response. Such comments nevertheless appear less intrusive probably because they are appreciably less aberrant and unexpected.

The concern was firstly for details. This is a normal and appropriate sequence by which the teacher first solicits merely informational alertness. Later we were able to discuss the over-riding concepts of the dreams and the implications that they had for the character and nature of the protagonist.

I got onto the subject of shopping and that famous scene where Mitty can only remember the particular brand of dog biscuit that he is required to purchase through reference to the advertising slogan "doggies bark for it." Why is this so peculiarly humiliating for the sensitive man? Many reactions were merely marginal. A student sternly observed "Mitty could not be a Korean because people in Korea do not buy food for pets specially." Some felt that it was the whole process of shopping that was at stake - not recognizing adequately that it was a particular kind of shopping that was questionable and destructive of masculine status. "In oriental countries men don't like shopping. If they are courting girl friends they will accompany their sweethearts to go shopping. But husbands seldom go shopping with their wives. They consider this is the job of the woman."

Another in a more pontifical but uncomprehending manner asserted: "It is very important for the student to understand that one of the worst things which can happen to an American male is to walk into a store and have to ask for dog biscuits."

The advice is clear enough, though there is an indicative absence of any explanation as to why this mystery should be so. There has been little accurate communication of cultural attitude so far.

Another seized upon the most minor medical detail of Mrs. Mitty threatening to take Walter's temperature because his lack of attention to her clearly indicated that he was sickening for some fever. The point is obviously ironic. One could argue that Mitty is only healthy, in a final sense, in his dream world. The incident provoked the apparently random denunciation of : "It seems to me that it is typically American to be fussy and concerned about petty things. In my country people don't even think of going to the doctor until they are literally dying." That literally seems a carefully chosen word with no mere metaphoric force intended!

Another student with whom one felt an immediate sympathy reacted to the scene in the parking lot when the attendant yells and cars honk. She observed that "always in America there seems to be yelling and rushing about." The jump takes the reader from the immediate detail into the broadest generality and that generality is most highly coloured by previously acquired expectations.

This most striking inconsequence is a basic and repeated pattern in much of the first response to such stories. There is regular evidence of this same peculiar jump of thought taken at a tangent from the trigger of actual data. The responses derive only from preconceptions that remain based on cultural prejudice and false expectations. Of the scene in the courtroom where the witness box holds the great gun expert, one student remarked with curious mixture of genuine truth and utter inconsequence: "The use of a gun to settle domestic problems -- no where else in the world is the gun so eloquent." Eloquent is a lovely word but suspect that a pistol is fairly eloquent in most parts of the world and that some short circuit in vocabulary choice has taken place here, besides the leap from the courtroom to domestic murder.

The overall response to this story was that it was "very American." In response to this I pointed out that surely daydreams were a universal activity and that it could only be the subject of the dreams and their definitions of the desirable and heroic that would differ. There was some debate about this. It was accepted by a student from Venezuela who agreed that "Walter Mitty's dreaming as a man escaping the reality of life would not seem strange to us." Equally it was very generally acknowledged that the subjects of dreams were always culture tied. Flippantly one remarked, "He dreams of prowess and power because he is an American and they are the aims of this culture. If he were an Eskimo he would dream that all the women around him would rub noses." Actually Mitty wouldn't. His dreams were romantic but not in any sexual sense. It was a Latin American student who specifically drew my attention to this aspect of Mitty's dreams which I had not considered. One learns from different cultural attitudes! He had noticed that there were no women in Mitty's dreams. One might well expect a Mitty, deprived of any romantic relationships in marriage, to have this subject uppermost in his mind (it had to be introduced gratuitously into the subsequent film.) As the student remarked, "Mitty is a man of action, a hero with supremacy in his daydreams. In Brazil a character with similar delusions in the Brazilian culture would strive for a virile supremacy - he would dream of sexual powers."

Others -- and I am convinced that this was either evasive or self-deluded refused to admit that daydreaming was a feature of their expectations of manhood. "Instead of retreating into his own private world of dreams a Latin American would feel that some action had to be taken." That remark is at least a handle on which to fix the point that the life of Mitty is not meant to be realistic. His reactions are deliberately exaggerated. Just as Dagwood Bumstead does not exist except as a stereotype. That is the nature of the joke. It was hard to be convincing on this subject with this group of students. Either the stereotype had bitten in very deeply or their interactions with American husbands have been uniformly unfortunate. They took Mitty straight!

There were two things that concerned them most deeply as can be seen from these first random reactions; the nature of Mitty himself in the sequences of his actual life and subject of his dreams. Firstly, concerning the wife there is the stern repudiation of any culture link. I have heard this very often and I still don't believe it, but the assertion is always vigorously made by the foreign men students, and never contradicted by the quiet girl students, that female domination simply does not happen in their country. Africans, Arabs, Asians, Latin Americans, united on nothing else agree on this subject. The American woman is apparently unique. "In Brazil such a situation in which there was the woman subjugating her husband does not exist." "In Latin America the men learn how to keep the women where they belong." However I always keep pressing for real honesty and occasionally get revealing concessions. "It is a little bit difficult for a Japanese student to imagine these situations but I use "a little bit" instead of "very" because recently the situations of men and women are coming to be similar to those in America."

Concern for Mitty's dreams most properly fixes upon the ideals that they represent and the extent to which the dream is the measure of the culture. One student remarked that "What an American admires most is courage, intelligence, power." Frankly that seemed to me a very complimentary list--but I can't see that it had any connection at all with Walter Mitty.

In an even more irrelevant way, the blatant remark that follows has nothing whatsoever to do with Mitty and little to do with America. "From my experience I have discovered that it is characteristically American to be aggressive and impulsive. Americans are not at all a gentle people." Even if this is at all true it seems hard to generate such a concept from this story, for isn't American Mr. Mitty poor, quiet, meek, oppressed, in spite of the more virulent and virile elements that his longing dreams contain.

There was also evidence of the attempt to seek some more familiar literary pattern with which to match Mitty, the popular romance for example. Subconsciously or not it was sensed what was lacking to set this story into the appropriate heroic plane was a woman worthy to be the knight's call to conquest, the female stimulant to all adventure, aping the whole ritual of courtly love. Another student begins by stumbling over the irrelevances that characterized the previous argument, but also remarks upon this lack of heroine. "All in all Americans are materialistic. They are daring and associate their lives with pretty girls." If that seems a monumental non sequitor its origins are made more apparent by another student's supporting remark, "A hero should go hand in hand with a beautiful girl. That is the tradition." Mr. Thurber has been told!

There are the plethora of casual arbitrary remarks such as "In Korea he would never have arranged to meet his wife in a hotel lobby. He would have suggested a small snack-stand at the corner of some street." It is by no means clear why this would have made any difference to Mitty's dreams and activities. But others were not led into such a literary cul-de-sac. Some came through with a firm grasp of the essentials. The American dream of making it to the top is what keeps haunting Walter Mitty's mind." Actually it is its absence that provokes him, but that will pass. Another later with sad and shrewd perception commented, "The story raised the question of heroism in a society where there is no longer room for it." That is as true a statement about this tale as I could offer myself. In a more colloquial but equally accurate way for all its flippant tone the following comment is incisive. "He couldn't help being a coward. Tough for him because a man in America is not expected to be a coward." A final gloomy remark echoes plangently, forming a kind of nostalgic epitaph to a lost glory. "American women do not always realize to what extremes they drive their men." One might not have thought of poor Mitty as very extreme in anything or in 'being driven' judging by his pathetic anxiety to serve. But as a social judgment who could deny its subtle perception?

There is understandably from these students resident in America, some sense of recognition of the scenes of Mitty. As one put it, "The media of communications are showing us the same type of hero that Walter Mitty admires. As we read this we don't forget that we have been watching the same TV serials that Mitty does." [an error of chronology here but the point is valid], going to see the same movies and reading almost the same books." A thing that struck them, and a constant reaction that surprised me, was a persistent emphasis upon the materialistic aspect of the dreams. Surely this most idealistic search for power or respect is not materialistic. It is a highly romantic ideal. There is no drive in fact of Mitty the millionaire, or Mitty the business tycoon. Are they not simply applying their stereotypes of what an American ought to be so fervently that they hardly seem able to notice that Mitty is not a replica of this prior expectation. There even seems to be a contradiction within the very statement made by the student as if the stereotype is accepted without thought for its contradiction with the rest of its impressions derived from the story. "All Americans are materialistic. They prefer acts of bravery for money and fame. They are daring." Can you be materialistic <u>and</u> brave?

Another wrote (more perceptively at one level), "The apparent violence of the dreams reflect the aggressive and violent nature of American culture. It is obvious that four dreams deal with guns and wars." This is both true and quite misleading, for the guns and wars are only the context for setting up the famous lawyer trial or the lost revolutionary. Nearer to the point is the comment which at least supplies Mitty with some implicit motivation, "Here people are judged almost exclusively according to how much of a success they are." This type of comment came so often that it may appear merely boring to repeat it, yet it is necessary that I write out more than one example to indicate the omnipresence of this attitude, a response concerning

America triggered by the story but containing views that can only minimally be sustained in fact from its content. "Here people like to show off. Whenever they do some great things, they want people to know about their deeds." Is that surprising? "In the American culture people will do anything to become known. People have bravery as a craze." Surely the whole point of Mitty is that he is not brave nor assertive. He doesn't have the chance to show off. Or is the argument that the dreams indicate what is the real cultural essence of Mitty's existence? Is it real life that is the unrealistic aspect the dreams sequence the truth of society. That would make a valid paradox but it is hard to maintain both positions. "This kind of thing [don't ask me for antecedents, there weren't any in the original sentence construction], will seldom happen in my society. It shows Americans are daring. They dare to love, to hate, and they are outspoken, too."

All very well but where do such comments leave us with Walter Mitty? Clearly in this case we can hardly even talk of misapprehensions deriving from the story. There is a rather virtual series of reactions that pop out when the word America is heard, Pavlov fashion, and not related to the content of the work in itself. Yet this is also revealing for it indicates where the literature teacher must move. Without firm guidance the class too rapidly turns into a fierce if amicable debate on what Americans "really" are like. What we must direct attention to is what Walter Mitty is like. Or more subtly but crucially, what James Thurber says he is like and what he thinks of Mitty.

One notices, for example, that in this initial discussion (and I like to think that happier and more effective responses were established in a later class when some of these prejudices had been cleared away) there was no comment on the ending. With a wry irony that is partly within the dream Thurber calls Mitty "undefeated." This view also spreads out beyond the dream. Yet to see daunted dominated Mitty as undefeated, is to recognize his rubbery strength which never fights but equally never loses. It requires a reader to recognize that he remains triumphantly himself, the overtly weak consistently victorious against the apparently strong. Such awareness brings a reader to the serious heart of this amusing story. But such an interpretation does not reveal itself to people approaching this tale armoured against the facts with their own pre-expectations and determined to find only what they expect. In this way the story itself begins to shatter myth, for it insists on the closest reading as a way of inspecting the true experience both of a writer and his deliberately constructed character.

That is a single comment on an obvious point at issue in this story. It is introduced in this conclusion only to indicate one obvious way in which the direction of the next stage should be pursued by the teacher. It is useful to see the presuppositions unwind. They cannot be challenged adequately by the "I don't find that to be so" routine. Closer inspection of the story itself reveals that there are truths which are merely concealed by stereotypes. It is self-delusive to seek only what you want to find. In this way just the very task of close inspection of a work of literature becomes the technique by which one simply enforces a sensitive and accurate response to something precise and definite; or more precise than opinions about American habits of violence or materialism. This does not mean that we have to set up the absolute priority of this awareness. Literature is always the center of the study, the one prime priority. But the teaching of literature as always, spreads more broadly, finding levels of response far beyond classroom walls into the daily living experience of students. And that is what education is, I suppose, all about.

FOOTNOTES

[1] In a precisely analogous way there is the myth from England--more comforting to masculine pride--represented by the male chauvinist dominance of Andy Capp. Both observation and personal experience suggests that such a view also has its measure of exaggeration! It is revealing that when Danny Kay made a movie of Mitty that Mrs. Mitty of the story had to be recast to become his nagging and protective mother. This was not because of the obvious connection between mother and wife equally treating the man as child. A love interest had to be inserted for box office appeal. All the evidence of Thurber's story to the contrary Mitty had to grow up and find true love from a woman who admired him. Such a perversion of Thurber's story is far greater than any misunderstandings proffered by my foreign students. Damaging reconstructions of incident are not confined to those confused by a foreign culture. The only difference is that Hollywood does them on purpose.

OBJECTIVES IN TEFL/TESL

Clifford H. Prator

Madam Chairman, and fellow English teachers:

However much of a cliche it may be, I must say that is is a pleasure, a privilege, and indeed an honor to be with you here today. Though I have never before visited Iran, my interest in teaching English to Iranians dates back at least a quarter of a century, to my earliest days as a TESL instructor at UCLA. That was the time when the first great wave of Iranian students came to study at American universities and Iranians made up the third or fourth largest group in our courses in English for foreign students. I can still remember some of their names--Nariman, Ghaffari, Ghahremani--though I have long since forgotten the names of most of their classmates.

I think I remember the Iranians best, not because they were especially good students (most of them had a lot of trouble with English) but because they were such interesting persons. As a group they seemed cheerful, ambitious, and above all highly individualistic. There was a warmth and humanity about them that made them very real as people. One was always aware of their presence.

Since that time, the development of higher education in Iran has made it possible for many more of your students to complete their professional and technical education at home, and the proportion of Iranians in American universities has declined. But we have continued to be pleasantly aware of the presence of Iranians in our programs for training teachers of English. At UCLA this year we have been privileged to welcome as visiting scholars two people who would normally, I presume, be among the moving spirits of this Iranian Association of Professors of English. These are Professors Amouzegar and Atai of the University of Tehran. Also this year two of the best recent graduates of the UCLA program in TESL have come to Iran to work with you in positions of considerable responsibility. I refer to Mr. Frank Walton, the new and very able Director of the Academic Center of the Iran America Society in Tehran, and to Dr. Ron Cowan who, I understand, is doing an excellent job as Director of the recently inaugurated cooperative program between Tehran University and the University of Illinois. We at UCLA very much hope that contacts of this kind can be continued and even multiplied.

Perhaps this helps explain why we are eager to learn more about the teaching of English in Iran and why I am especially glad of this opportunity to be with you here today. Before going on to talk about instructional objectives, I feel I must express publicly my very deep gratitude to Mrs. Pari Rad, Dr. Parivash Manuchehri, Dr. Jane Stevenson, and the others who have arranged my trip and tried with great care to orient me so that I could play a role at this conference. I am indeed profoundly grateful to them.

I suspect that what I have said until now, though apparently concerned with extraneous considerations, is not altogether unrelated to the matter of objectives in TEFL/TESL in Iran. I spoke of the Iranian students who have come to study at American universities and indicated that their major concern was to further their professional and technical education. Our colleague at the University of Isfahan, Dr. Stevenson, informs me that this is still the major objective of those who study English in Iranian universities today. She specifies that the greatest immediate need for knowledge of the language is felt by the students of the sciences, technology, and medicine. It appears that many of these have foreign professors who give their instruction in English and that all of them are often required to read textbooks in English.

Dr. Stevenson also singles out a second group of students whose need for English is especially great but of a different nature. These are the students who major in English literature and language and who follow courses that are closely modeled on those given to native speakers in American and British institutions of higher learning. She fears that these programs of study are not very successful, since those who follow them seldom seem to gain a sufficient mastery of the language to study the literature very well.

With regard to the specific skills that are most needed by most students, Dr.

Stevenson is inclined to put reading in first place. She believes that oral comprehension is probably the next most important skill. And she adds: "It would seem that our students have the greatest immediate need for the skills of comprehension--of decoding English--and little pressing need for the skills of production."

As Dr. Stevenson points out, no outsider (and least of all a brief visitor) can set goals and formulate objectives for the universities of Iran. The final formulations can only be made by Iranians for Iranians. But perhaps I can profit by the impartiality with which my arrival in this country yesterday from outer space presumably endows me to offer a few rather unoriginal suggestions on how to arrive at desirable and reachable objectives, how to state them, and how to measure the extent to which they are achieved. At least, that is what I have been invited to do and what I shall try to do now.

OBJECTIVES AS AN OVER-RIDING CONSIDERATION

Most of us here would probably accept as axiomatic truth the statement that the most basic elements in any teaching situation are four in number: the teacher, the students, the subject matter, and the objectives of instruction. In fact, it seems justifiable to regard these elements as the four terms of an equation in which the value of any one term depends on the values assigned to the other three terms. Thus, in order to decide how we should behave as teachers--that is to say, how we should plan our courses, what methods we should use--we look primarily in three directions: at our students, at our subject matter, and at our objectives. In other words, we consider these three as the cornerstones of method.

For help in understanding our students, we look to the psychologists, particualrly to those such as Skinner, Mowrer, and Miller, who have dealt with the problem of how people learn languages. When we do so, we discover a number of different competing theories: people learn a language by a mechanical process of habit formation, or by developing an innate competency for language into rule-governed behavior patterns, or by variations of these processes.

PARAGRAPH FROM PRATOR[S ARTICLE• REPLACE IT

For help in understanding our subject matter, which is the English language, we look to the linguists who have studied the nature of language and particularly of English. And again we find a number of different analyses--generative-transformational, neo-Firthian, immediate-constituent, etc.--depending on the type of analysis to which we are attracted.

Even though the psychologists do not agree as to the nature of language learning and the linguists are deeply divided as to the nature of language, it still seems wise to look to them for such guidance as they can give us. There is nowhere else we can turn for help in understanding our students and our subject matter, two cornerstones of method which we simply cannot overlook. We can accept one psychological theory or another, or we can attempt to combine in our own thinking what seem to be the most reasonable elements of several psychological theories. The same is true, of course, of linguistic theories. We can even reject all formal theories, but our teaching will still reflect some inner conviction with regard to what language is and how students learn a language.

The point I would like to emphasize here, however, has to do with the third cornerstone of method, our instructional objectives. It appears that there is as yet no established academic discipline, such as psychology or linguistics, to which we can turn for help in determining what these should be. This may be one reason we have tended in the past to attach too little importance to the need for clearly formulated objectives. If half as much time in courses on methods of teaching English had been spent in studying the formulation of objectives as has been spent in discussing linguistic and psychological theories, our English instruction might well be a great deal more effective today. What I would urge, then, is that objectives be regarded as an over-riding consideration, the most important of the three cornerstones of method.

Let us think of what this might mean in practice. Teachers have different reasons for the methodological decisions they make. One technique may be chosen because it seems consonant with a favored linguistic theory. Another may be picked

because it can be seen to lead directly toward the achievement of a well recognized objective. Sometimes linguistics seem to be in conflict with objectives. For example, a widely accepted linguistic theory holds that oral speech is primary, writing secondary, and that the best preparation for learning to read is therefore to become thoroughly familiar with the language in its spoken form. But the teacher may be faced with a class of science students who desperately need to learn to read with the least possible delay. If that teacher thinks of objectives as an over-riding consideration, he will--despite the theory--have his students devote more time to reading than to speaking.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SPECIFICITY IN LEARNING A SKILL

The greater part of the objectives of TEFL/TESL are usually stated in terms of skills, and the principle of specificity in learning a skill is one of the strongest theoretical arguments in favor of attaching an over-riding importance to objectives. It is a very simple principle that has been more and more widely accepted by educators as the once-popular argument that training in one skill could easily be transferred to the learning of another has lost much of its force. The principle is merely that the essential element in learning a skill is to practice that skill under the same circumstances under which it is to be used. The most important part of learning to play a piano is to play the type of music one wishes to perform, not to practice scales. The basic way to learn to pronounce English is to pronounce it in imitation of a good model under circumstances as nearly approaching those of ordinary conversation as can be arranged. Though diagraming may be fun and parsing sentences may teach students to parse sentences, neither activity can be proven to help students learn to communicate their thoughts in English.

The principle of specificity in skill learning does not mean, of course, that classroom instruction should become a mere dress rehearsal in exercising the skills the students need to perfect. If a student is unable to distinguish between the vowel sounds in bit and beat in spite of his best efforts to imitate a model, the teacher should not hesitate to try to help him by explaining the way in which the two sounds are produced. But the teacher should never rely primarily on phonetic description if his objective is to teach his student to pronounce well. Nor should the English instructor who has his students read mostly short stories and poetry think that he is thereby giving them the best possible preparation for reading expository scientific prose. It is all a question of proportion. If activities that do not correspond closely to authentic objectives are introduced into the classroom, they should occupy only a minor share of the class's time, and the instructor should have strong reasons indeed to believe that they serve a legitimate purpose.

Objectives thus become the dominant factor, especially in classes that are devoted primarily to the acquisition of skills. And it becomes very important for teachers to spell out their objectives more thoughtfully and specifically than has usually been done in the past. We have only made the barest beginning when we state that our aim is to enable our students to understand, speak, read, and write English. Which of these skills do they need most? Which least? If it is reading they most need, what specific reading skills are required? Rapid reading of large amounts of material so as to be able to grasp the main points of an argument? Careful reading where no detail is missed? Reading as an esthetic experience? At what rate of speed should they be able to read different types of materials? With what degree of comprehension? At what level of difficulty in vocabulary and structure? Until we have succeeded in answering at least a sizeable proportion of these and many, many similar questions, there appears to be little hope of improving or even evaluating the effectiveness of our teaching.

In recent years considerations such as these have become prominent in the thinking of many educators, especially in the United States. To some extent teachers have been forced to consider their objectives more carefully by the pressures that have been generated for a greater degree of accountability in education. As it has become more and more difficult to obtain adequate school-support funds, the legislators who control appropriations have begun to insist on making the schools accountable for the money they spend. There has been a pronounced tendency to make financial support dependent on the ability of the schools to state precisely what they wish their students to accomplish and then to demonstrate the degree to which these objectives have been achieved.

In response to such pressures, a whole new literature on developing instructional objectives has begun to appear. If you are not already familiar with what has been written on the subject, you might want to jot down a few titles. One

of the most influential books has been Robert F. Mager's Preparing Instructional Objectives,[1] a deceptively simple do-it-yourself introduction to the subject. On a more sophisticated level and designed to help teachers avoid some of the pitfalls to which a too literal application of Mager's principles might lead is W. James Popham's The Teacher-Empiricist.[2] Popham has been a leader in establishing agencies, such as the UCLA Instructional Objectives Exchange, which have built up large "banks" of precisely formulated objectives from which a teacher can select those objectives that seem to correspond most closely to his own students' needs and can thus spare himself some of the very great effort involved in trying to spell out his own objectives. Unfortunately, the Instructional Objectives Exchange has not yet gotten around to dealing with TEFL/TESL.

Indeed, teachers of the humanities appear generally to have been one of the last groups to become concerned with stating precisely what they expect to accomplish in their classes. That they have finally seen the need, however, seems evidenced by the fact that one of the most popular study groups at the just concluded Sixth Annual TESOL Convention in Washington was one devoted to "Developing Behavioral Objectives." This group spent two whole days, under the leadership of Dr. Richard R. Lee of Florida State University, in examining objectives in TEFL, TESL, and Bilingual Education and in writing special objectives for the needs of the participants' own classes.

QUALITIES OF MEANINGFULLY STATED OBJECTIVES

As I have implied earlier, the development of objectives that are stated in such a way as to be truly meaningful is no easy task. Mager and his cohorts insist that the only significant objectives are those that specify an observable change in the behavior of the learner. They thus urge that we avoid such words as 'to understand,' 'to appreciate fully,' and 'to grasp the significance of.' Instead we should think in terms of observable behavior such as 'to write,' 'to recite,' 'to identify,' 'to differentiate,' 'to solve,' 'to construct,' 'to list,' 'to compare,' and 'to contrast.'[3] 'To be able to match all the English tenses with the expressions of time that may be used with them' would, then, be a more meaningful objective than would be 'to understand how the English tenses are used.' And 'to write, with no more than one incomplete or run-on sentence, a composition 300 or more words in length describing a physical object' would be much better than 'to know the uses of capitalization and end punctuation in English.'

The most basic quality of a well stated objective is that it should communicate clearly to the reader the writer's exact instructional intent. "If you provide another teacher with an objective, and he then teaches his students to perform in a manner that you agree is consistent with what you had in mind, then you have communicated your objective in a meaningful manner. If, on the other hand, you do not agree that these learners are able to perform according to your intentions, if you feel that you 'had something more in mind' or that your intent was 'misinterpreted,' then your statement has failed to communicate adequately."

Mager believes that the following steps will go far toward insuring that both students and colleagues will understand what is expected of them: "First, identify the terminal behavior by name; you can specify the kind of behavior that will be accepted as evidence that the learner has achieved the objective. Second, try to define the desired behavior further by describing the important conditions under which the behavior will be expected to occur. Third, specify the criteria of acceptable performance by describing how well the learner must perform to be considered acceptable."

We have already seen a few examples of what is meant by identifying the terminal behavior by name. Examples of defining the desired behavior further by describing the important conditions under which it is expected to occur might be: 'the student will demonstrate his understanding of compound sentences by producing in isolation and in connected writing sentences in which ideas of equal importance are joined by the appropriate coordinators'; or 'both in oral drill and in writing the student will use verbs that agree with their subject even when nouns of a different number than the subject occur between the subject and the verb.'

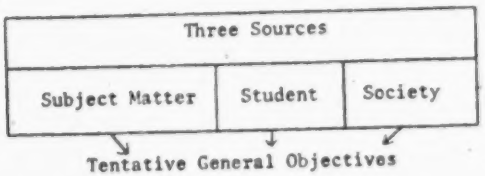
Examples in which the third step, that of specifying the criteria of acceptable performance, has been taken might be: 'When the class is given a paragraph in which the ideas are jumbled, 80% of the students will be able to recognize which of three possible rearrangements is the most logical one'; or 'the student will make no more than three errors when asked to list the principal parts of 25 common

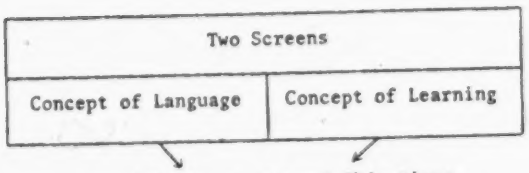
irregular verbs.'

To provide you with additional examples, I have brought with me two documents of which the organizers of this seminar may be able to provide you with copies. The first is a statemtnt of objectives for science students enrolled in freshman-year writing classes at the American University in Cairo, which was prepared by Mrs. Ann Johns, a graduate student in TEFL and freshman-composition instructor. The second is a formulation of the criteria to be used in promoting students of English that was drawn up jointly by the English Language Institute and the Department of English at AUC.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF OJBECTIVES

Teachers interested in identifying desirable and reachable objectives for their classes have often found it helpful to follow a procedure such as that advocated by Ralph Tyler.[4] The Tyler Rationale, as the procedure is sometimes called, can perhaps be most easily explained by beginning with a diagram like the one below. I have modified Popham's version of the diagram in order to make it more directly applicable to TEFL/TESL.





There are three possible sources of objectives--the subject matter, the teacher, and the society--but the three do not function in quite the same way. By surveying the subject matter of a course, we determine the dimensions of the area that must be covered, the kinds of units into which the area can be divided, and the relationships of these units one to another. This initial examination of the subject matter can thus be said to provide us with the raw material of our objectives.

We may then think in terms of the individual and social needs that bring students to our classes. How often does the student find it necessary to communicate his thoughts orally in English? How often, outside of his English class, is he called on to write a formal composition? If the teacher consults with the student, as he certainly should do, regarding the precise nature of the English skills the student needs to acquire, a considerable divergence of opinion may well become evident. Whereas the teacher may think it very important for the student to learn to write well-organized paragraphs with easily identifiable topic sentences, the student may feel a much greater need to become familiar with different ways of taking lecture notes.

The society that provides the funds for the operation of the educational system would also appear to be entitled to have its needs taken into consideration

when instructional objectives are being identified. Thus, if the society is a developing country caught up in the earlier stages of industrialization, it seems justifiable in formulating the aims of English instruction to emphasize those language skills that are most required by the technicians.

In transforming the tentative general objectives identified by examining these three sources into more specific instructional objectives, it may be useful to think of ourselves as applying at least two separate screens. These could be labeled in various ways, but you will see that I have called them 'concept of language' and 'concept of learning.' Under 'concept of language' I would include such items as our ideas regarding the relationship of speech to writing, the importance of punctuation and spelling to the communication of thought, the role of intonation in making meaning clear, and the relative importance of the various devices whereby we signal the differences between various grammatical structures. Our 'concept of learning' might include our estimate of the value of rules as an aid to the mastery of grammatical patterns, our insights into the different ways in which individual students learn, our judgment regarding our students' capacities, etc.

A FEW WORDS OF CAUTION

As I have already indicated, there are various pitfalls into which teachers of good will can easily stumble in their first attempts to formulate specific objectives for their classes. In concluding this presentation, I would like to point out a few of these and to make one or two suggestions as to how they may be avoided.

If one interpreted writers such as Mager too literally, the work of writing objectives for a single class could become an almost endless task. That is to say that, if too much insistence is placed on the necessity for specific formulations, then the statement of objectives finally produced will differ very little from an exceedingly long list of test items. And, if criteria of group and individual achievement are incorporated into every objective, the result will inevitably resemble a jumble of percentage figures pulled out of thin air rather than a helpful instructional guide. It seems to me that the list of objectives for a single class should never be more than two or three pages long. One way of shortening such a list, which is also recommendable for other reasons, is to make the listing hierarchical: to divide the statement into sections, each headed by one of a small number of principal objectives and made up of sub-objectives (and sometimes even sub-sub-objectives) that illustrate the intent of the principal objectives. Also there seems to be little advantage in attempting to state the expected criteria of achievement separately for each objective. A single general statement will usually suffice.

There likewise appears to be a danger that, if all the objectives of a course are spelled out and quantified, then the brightest students in the class will no longer have any incentive to 'exceed the expectations of the teacher.' Why should they work any harder than is necessary to make an 'A' in the course? Perhaps this danger can be avoided by deliberately and obviously phrasing a few of the most important objectives so as to indicate that they should be achieved to the highest degree of which any student is capable.

Still another danger is that the line of thinking explained in the latter sections of this paper might lead teachers of English to overemphasize that part of their work that is chiefly concerned with skill acquisition. The acquisition of skills is much easier to observe and to measure than is the acquisition of knowledge or the formation of desirable attitudes. Or, as the educationists put it, it is much easier to write objectives in the psychomotor domain than in the cognitive and the affective domains. Here I can only point out that it is possible to prepare very specific objectives in all three domains and that books have been written to help the teacher who believes that his most worthy objectives lie in the more difficult cognitive and affective areas.[3]

I hope that my last remarks will not be interpreted as indicating any deep scepticism about the value of encouraging teachers of English to make a much greater effort than they usually have in the past to formulate their instructional objectives clearly. I do indeed believe, most profoundly, that the work of almost all of us would be benefited by a reasonable degree of 'Magerization.'

So that I may end on a lighter note, will you let me retell for you the little fable that Mager used as the preface for Preparing Instructional Objectives?

"Once upon a time a Sea Horse gathered up his seven pieces of eight and cantered out to find his fortune. Before he had traveled very far he met an Eel, who said,

'Psst. Hey bud. Where 'ya goin'?

'I'm going out to find my fortune,' replied the Sea Horse, proudly,

'You're in luck,' said the Eel. For four pieces of eight you can have this speedy flipper, and you'll be able to get there a lot faster.'

'Gee, that's swell,' said the Sea Horse, and paid the money and put on the flipper and slithered off at twice the speed. Soon he came upon a Sponge, who said,

'Psst. Hey, bud. Where 'ya goin'?

'I'm going out to find my fortune,' replied the Sea Horse.

'You're in luck, said the Sponge. 'For a small fee I will let you have this jet-propelled scooter so that you will be able to travel a lot faster.'

So the Sea Horse bought the scooter with his remaining money and went zooming through the sea five times as fast. Soon he came upon a Shark, who said,

'Psst. Hey, bud. Where 'ya goin'?

'I'm going out to find my fortune', replied the Sea Horse.

'You're in luck. If you'll take this short cut,' said the Shark, pointing to his open mouth, 'you'll save yourself a lot of time.'

'Gee, thanks,' said the Sea Horse, and zoomed off into the interior of the Shark, there to be devoured.

The moral of this fable is that if you're not sure where you're going, you're liable to end up someplace else--and not even know it."

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*This paper was the key-note address delivered at the opening plenary session of the Second Annual Seminar of the Association of Professors of English in Iran, March 14-17, 1972, at the University of Isfahan.

[1] Belmont, California, Fearon Publishers, 1962.

[2] Los Angeles, Tinnon-Brown, Second Edition, 1970.

[3] Mager, op. cit. Chapter 3.

[4] Ralph W. Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950. For a brief summary and application of the principles involved, see Popham, op. cit., pp. 21-25.

[5] Eg., Benjamin S. Bloom, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives I, Cognitive Domain, New York, David McKay Co., 1956; David R. Krathwohl, Benjamin S. Bloom, and Bertram B. Masia, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook II, Affective Domain , same publisher, 1964.

INTEGRATIVE AND DISCRETE-POINT TESTS AT UCLA

Earl J. Rand

Other testers have argued that integrative tests (IT) are more appropriate than discrete-point tests (DPT) for assigning placement in the ESL service program we offer at UCLA. Here I will present evidence that, statistically, IT are no better, and in fact in some instances worse, than DPT. Testing in our program is much more complex than the simplistic program currently implemented implies, and our program is in need of some basic changes which I will suggest. I will conclude by pointing out that solely relying on the use of integrative tests leads to unfortunate consequences both for foreign students and for our TESL program.

I. INTEGRATIVE TESTS

Integrative tests and discrete-point tests, as the names imply, measure global skills and single-item skills respectively. Examples of IT are dictation and cloze tests; examples of DPT are vocabulary, reading, grammar, and pronunciation tests.

A. Advantages of Integrative Tests

Carroll (1961, p. 34, and in Allen, 1965, p. 369-370) contrasts IT and DPT.

> The work of Lado and other language testing specialists has correctly pointed to the desirability of testing for very specific items of language knowledge and skill judiciously sampled from the usually enormous pool of possible items. This makes for highly reliable and valid testing. It is the type of approach which is needed and recommended where knowledge of structure and lexicon, auditory discrimination and oral production of sounds, and reading and writing of individual symbols and words are to be tested. I do not think, however, that language testing (or the specification of language proficiency) is complete without the use of ... an approach requiring an integrated, facile performance of the part of the examinee. It is conceivable that knowledge could exist without facility. If we limit ourselves to testing only one point at a time, more time is ordinarily allowed for reflection than would occur in a normal communication situation, no matter how rapidly the discrete items are presented. For this reason I recommend tests in which there is less attention paid to specific structure-points or lexicon than to the total communicative effect of an utterance...
>
> Indeed, this "integrative" approach has several advantages over the "discrete structure-point" approach. It entails a broader and more diffuse sampling over the total field of linguistic items and thus depends less upon the specifics of a particular course of training. It thus may lend itself somewhat more effectively to the problem of an external examination in which the examiner does not ordinarily know, in detail, what was covered in any particular course of training. Furthermore, the difficulty of a task is subjectively more obvious than in the case of a "discrete structure-point" item. Thus, when the tasks of an "integrative" approach test are arranged in the order of their difficulty for a typical class of examinees, the interpretation of performance relative to a subjective standard may be easier. Finally, the "integrative" approach makes less necessary the kind of comparison of language systems upon which much current language testing is premised. The important question is to ascertain how well the examinee is functioning in the target language, regardless of what his native language

happens to be.

Besides those Carroll cites, IT clearly have many other practical advantages for a situation such as ours at UCLA. First, IT are very easy to construct. Second, not only are single forms easily devised but constructing alternate equivalent forms presents few problems. The tester only chooses another passage from the same work. Third, security against compromising the test can be relaxed. Points one, two and three are all false for DPT. Finally, scoring can be easy, at least administratively easy--here at UCLA all the teaching assistants and fellowship students, about twelve to fifteen, are assigned to score the papers.

B. Practical Disadvantages

But integrative tests must suffer from some disadvantages as indicated by the fact that in spite of the theoretical superiority pointed out by Carroll and iterated by others and the four practical advantages listed above, the widely used TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) is a DPT. And Carroll is a high official in the Educational Testing Services (ETS), the firm which constructs, validates, administers and scores TOEFL. I, of course, do not know why ETS continues using DPT in the TOEFL, but I would suggest that the following points might influence their decision. First, IT, though easily constructed, are difficult (=expensive) to score; though computer scoring of cloze tests isn't a difficult programming feat, preparing the answers for the computer would require a great deal of clerical work. Computer scoring a dictation test wouldn't be impossible, but would be expensive. ETS for obvious economic reasons constructs computer scorable tests. Second, ETS is a large organization, not a one-man testing operation, as we have at UCLA. Thus, constructing alternate forms does not place a big burden on its staff. In fact, the staff includes full-time item writers and full-time statisticians. Third, ETS already has implemented extensive test-security procedures, so alternate forms aren't as crucial for ETS as for UCLA, in a situation where security has been lax.

C. Face Validity

The above shortcomings, all important, can all be overcome. But but the fact that IT lack the face validity of DPT is not trivial. Few candidates would pay ten dollars without complaining, which is what ETS charges for TOEFL, to be tested on filling in a few blanks and, like a secretary, taking down some dictation. And applicants at UCLA complain about our IT not properly measuring them. IT items just don't look like a test should look and DPT items do. Obviously, a test of an ability must appear to be a test of that ability if the tester is concerned for the applicants' morale, and if he wants to keep complaints at a minimum. Thus IT tests, lacking in face validity, have led test administrators to move test scores which were close to a class assignment cutpoint to a score more distant, and thereby forstalling complaints.

II. WHAT DO INTEGRATIVE TESTS MEASURE?

Until recently, researchers at UCLA have contentedly intercorrelated various kinds of DPT with IT (e.g., vocabulary, reading, and grammar with cloze and dictation). Little more has been attempted than to parcel out shared variance of the variables, i.e., compute partial correlation coefficients, a fairly unsophisticated statistical technique. No validity criterion has been used, and this left research really in the realm of reliability: research has focused on how well the test measured the same thing, not on how valuable or useful the thing is. It is indeed, I agree, interesting to know that, e.g., dictation and cloze correlate highly. But it would be even more interesting to learn how well these tests, both IT and DPT, correlate with UCLA grade point average. It would also be very helpful to know how different subpopulations (by major, language, residence) of the applicants score on the parts of the tests, their GPA, etc. And finally, it would be helpful to know the applicants' interests, motivation, desires, feelings, etc. and how all these have influenced their achievement, especially in English.

TABLE I
FALL 1971 UCLA ESLPE INTERCORRELATIONS

		CLOZE1 1	CLOZE2 2	CLOZE3 3	CLOZE4 4	DICT1 5	DICT2 6	DICT3 7	DICT4 8	COMP1 9	COMP2 10
1	CLOZE1	1.000000	0.777206	0.776742	0.704123	0.637883	0.644442	0.663902	0.612651	0.649557	0.629940
2	CLOZE2	0.777206	1.000000	0.821232	0.800653	0.663270	0.630292	0.689285	0.625781	0.727681	0.641297
3	CLOZE3	0.776742	0.821232	1.000000	0.787636	0.670531	0.664816	0.698582	0.674296	0.653794	0.714585
4	CLOZE4	0.704123	0.800653	0.787636	1.000000	0.530820	0.535626	0.629419	0.581966	0.661261	0.660034
5	DICT1	0.637883	0.663270	0.670531	0.530820	1.000000	0.819034	0.881349	0.813330	0.564555	0.608223
6	DICT2	0.644442	0.630292	0.664816	0.535626	0.819034	1.000000	0.831797	0.892697	0.575351	0.608482
7	DICT3	0.663902	0.689285	0.698582	0.629419	0.881349	0.831797	1.000000	0.852257	0.564046	0.628495
8	DICT4	0.612651	0.625781	0.674296	0.581966	0.813330	0.892697	0.852257	1.000000	0.548814	0.608238
9	COMP1	0.649557	0.727681	0.653794	0.661261	0.564555	0.575351	0.564046	0.548814	1.000000	0.716704
10	COMP2	0.629940	0.641297	0.714585	0.660034	0.608223	0.608482	0.628495	0.608238	0.716704	1.000000
11	AVGCL1	0.928591	0.849886	0.955003	0.795674	0.695481	0.695202	0.718370	0.695817	0.691116	0.717698
12	AVGCL2	0.777924	0.941866	0.846457	0.955411	0.624584	0.611024	0.692698	0.634788	0.729479	0.686214
13	AVGDCT1	0.671455	0.697629	0.700396	0.599512	0.968186	0.851208	0.971538	0.859181	0.581802	0.637831
14	AVGDCT2	0.645904	0.645562	0.688336	0.574726	0.838960	0.972083	0.865700	0.973520	0.577617	0.625364
15	AVGCOMP	0.688401	0.732267	0.741568	0.712134	0.635014	0.640284	0.647025	0.627567	0.906827	0.943871
16	AVGTEST1	0.798201	0.790355	0.827961	0.700796	0.940448	0.854052	0.949782	0.856385	0.652491	0.703932
17	AVGTEST2	0.738769	0.788185	0.792015	0.737371	0.842746	0.941719	0.884078	0.949920	0.669970	0.694616
18	PHON	0.661455	0.622438	0.573215	0.534674	0.640075	0.628132	0.656206	0.577601	0.603175	0.519934
19	GRAMMAR	0.686931	0.673870	0.633185	0.583308	0.691907	0.673158	0.734388	0.660759	0.612689	0.552416
20	FLUENCY	0.657593	0.633035	0.581251	0.545649	0.690677	0.674367	0.722129	0.640958	0.578258	0.536330
21	UNDERSTN	0.586712	0.551486	0.478572	0.431868	0.562723	0.622500	0.578799	0.541536	0.611002	0.482726

		AVGCL1 11	AVGCL2 12	AVGDCT1 13	AVGDCT2 14	AVGCOMP 15	AVGTEST1 16	AVGTEST2 17	PHON 18	GRAMMAR 19	FLUENCY 20	UNDERSTN 21
1	CLOZE1	0.928591	0.777924	0.671455	0.645904	0.688401	0.798201	0.738769	0.661455	0.686931	0.657593	0.586712
2	CLOZE2	0.849886	0.941866	0.697629	0.645562	0.732267	0.790355	0.788185	0.622438	0.673870	0.633035	0.551486
3	CLOZE3	0.955003	0.846457	0.700396	0.688336	0.741568	0.827961	0.792015	0.573215	0.633185	0.581251	0.478572
4	CLOZE4	0.795674	0.955411	0.599512	0.574726	0.712134	0.700796	0.737371	0.534674	0.583308	0.545649	0.431868
5	DICT1	0.695481	0.624584	0.968186	0.838960	0.635014	0.940448	0.842746	0.640075	0.691907	0.690677	0.562723
6	DICT2	0.695202	0.611024	0.851208	0.972083	0.640284	0.854052	0.941719	0.628132	0.673158	0.674367	0.622500
7	DICT3	0.718370	0.692698	0.971538	0.865700	0.647025	0.949782	0.884078	0.656206	0.734388	0.722129	0.578799
8	DICT4	0.695817	0.634788	0.859181	0.973520	0.627567	0.856885	0.949920	0.577601	0.660759	0.640958	0.541536
9	COMP1	0.691116	0.729479	0.581802	0.577617	0.906827	0.652491	0.669970	0.603175	0.612689	0.578258	0.611002
10	COMP2	0.717698	0.686214	0.637831	0.625364	0.943871	0.703932	0.694616	0.519934	0.552416	0.536330	0.482726
11	AVGCL1	1.000000	0.865087	0.729183	0.709749	0.761127	0.863738	0.814570	0.649241	0.696574	0.652157	0.558278
12	AVGCL2	0.865087	1.000000	0.630038	0.640478	0.760268	0.782539	0.801981	0.606620	0.659243	0.617997	0.513997
13	AVGDCT1	0.729183	0.630038	1.000000	0.879153	0.661079	0.974569	0.890785	0.668479	0.735874	0.728764	0.598696
14	AVGDCT2	0.709749	0.640478	0.879153	1.000000	0.651561	0.879401	0.972314	0.619380	0.685519	0.675822	0.597746
15	AVGCOMP	0.761127	0.760268	0.661079	0.651561	1.000000	0.734512	0.737160	0.599943	0.624082	0.598052	0.581162
16	AVGTEST1	0.863738	0.782539	0.974569	0.879401	0.734512	1.000000	0.921948	0.704417	0.768889	0.749932	0.615452
17	AVGTEST2	0.814570	0.801981	0.890785	0.972314	0.737160	0.921948	1.000000	0.666691	0.734126	0.713639	0.622214
18	PHON	0.649241	0.606620	0.668479	0.619380	0.599943	0.704417	0.666691	1.000000	0.818267	0.785994	0.724141
19	GRAMMAR	0.696574	0.659243	0.735874	0.685519	0.624082	0.768889	0.734126	0.818267	1.000000	0.840635	0.730518
20	FLUENCY	0.652157	0.617997	0.728764	0.675822	0.598052	0.749932	0.713639	0.785994	0.840635	1.000000	0.780205
21	UNDERSTN	0.558278	0.513997	0.583696	0.597746	0.581162	0.615452	0.622214	0.724141	0.730518	0.780205	1.000000

A. Inter-correlations of Parts and Totals

For one thing, cloze and dictation, two favorite IT, measure nearly the same thing. First, they correlate highly. Second, factor analyses show that both load highly into the same principal component. And third, in multiple regression analyses, after either dictation or cloze enters the equation, the other contributes very little toward explaining the remaining variance. Table I shows typical intercorrelations. These are from 142 cases of the Fall Quarter 1971 UCLA ESL Placement Examination (ESLPE).

The names of the variables in Table I are clear, for the most part. "Dict1" means the first Dictation passage; "Avgcl1" is the average of cloze tests 1 & 3; "Avgdict2" is the average of Dictation passages 2 & 4. "Avgtest1" is the total of Cloze 1 & 3 and Dictations 1 & 3, which was, by the way, the basis on which 1971-applicants were assigned to our service courses. The last four variables are the scores of the oral interviews Harold V. Connolly conducted with this sample of 142 students.

Not only are the intercorrealtions in Table I very high, but a factor matrix, before rotation, shows three principal components, accounting for 85% of the variance: the first factor 70% the second 9% and the third 6%. I will go into this in more detail below.

Thus, it seems clear to me that once you have either a cloze or a dictation score, then you don't need the other. That is, the other supplies mostly redundant information, restating what you already know about the candidates.

B. Validity and Reliability

Validity has been confused with reliability. First, some testers have argued that such highly intercorrelated measures indicate test validity more than the same number of different, but low intercorrelating measures. This is both logically and statistically simple-minded. They may do so, but no evidence has been forthcoming to prove it. Until proof has been shown, tests which measure different factors (i.e., with low intercorrelations) should be used. At least then we have a better chance of measuring something useful, i.e., that our tests will predict some behavior in the real world.

Second, valid measures must certainly be reliable ones; to claim that reliable measures must be valid is nonsense. I can reliably measure applicants' heights, but I would never claim height to be a valid test of English grammar.

C. Auto-correlations

Two other mistakes have supported the single-factor ("global") theory. Because dictation has been shown to correlate more highly with other parts (Vocabulary, Grammar, or Reading) than any of them with other parts of the test, and because dictation correlates more highly with the total test (as determined by the sum of all the parts) than do other parts of the test, then dictation necessarily measures English more accurately, and the other subtests (all DPT) can subsequently be dispensed with. Such data as in Table II has been cited.

Table II
Intercorrelations of Part and Total Scores for the ESLPE, Fall 1970.
Graduate Applicants (N = 138)

	Vocabulary	Grammar	Reading	Dictation	Total
Vocabulary	1.0	.54	.46	.55	.75
Grammar		1.0	.41	.55	.71
Reading			1.0	.45	.65
Dictation				1.0	.93
Total					1.0

The first claim, that dictation correlates higher than either Vocabulary, Reading, or Grammar does with other parts, is true. But even with N=138, the difference in correlation is far from achieving statistical significance. However, this fact has repeatedly occurred and needs to be investigated with more sensitive statistical techniques than have been used.

The second claim, however, is based on naive statistics. It is an artifact of how the total test score was computed. Dictation only correlates so highly with the Total (r=.93) because its score was weighted 43% of the total. That is, in 1970, Vocabulary, Grammar, and Reading each counted 40 points (19%), whereas Dictation counted 90 points (43%). See Table III. That is, second-order statistical data has been used as though it were primary data in these analyses I am referring to.

Table III
Correlations between parts of the ESLPE
With Recomputed Total Scores

	Total-1	Total-2	Total-3
Vocabulary	.75	.81	.73
Grammar	.71	.76	.68
Reading	.65	.71	.87
Dictation	.93	.84	.75

Total-1: Dictation weighted 43% (from Table II)
Total-2: Equal weightings (25% each)
Total-3: Reading weighted 50%.

If we give dictation an equal weight (40 points, i.e., 25%), then the four parts correlate with Total-2. If we were to weight, for example, Reading as 50% and the other three as 17% each, we would find that they correlate with Total-3. The part scores correlate differently with Totals 1, 2, and 3 because the part scores were weighted differently in computing the total scores 1, 2, and 3. This means that they were "auto-correlated." For researching the influence of the parts, only Total-2 is fair and logical.

Thus, we can, of course, make any part correlate highest with the total. But it would be foolish to claim that this high correlation is based on adequate statistics; and it would be doubly foolish to base any serious decisions about the design of a test on it.

Total-2 is computed by equally weighting the parts. For the group of 1970 undergraduate applicants (N = 87) in Tamar Goldmann's study and with Total-2 (equal weights) as the dependent variable, Dictation was the last independent variable (or subtest) to enter the equation. This means that it was least useful in predicting the total unweighted score.

Multiple Regression Equation

DEPENDENT VARIABLE. TOTAL2

VARIABLE	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARE	RSQ CHANGE	SIMPLE R	B	BETA
READING	0.84002	0.70564	0.70564	0.84002	0.25000	0.29880
GRAMMAR	0.94367	0.89052	0.18488	0.80455	0.25000	0.28004
VOCAB	0.97735	0.95522	0.06470	0.83405	0.25000	0.32466
DICTATE	1.00000	1.00000	0.04478	0.83537	0.25000	0.30275
(CONSTANT)					-0.00001	

D. An Over-simplified Model

And not only is correlating parts with the total statistically naive, it is experimentally naive in two ways. First, as mentioned above, it is only looking within the test to determine what is important. It emphasized reliability whereas we should be looking outside the test in the real world in order to ascertain the importance of any technique. We should emphasize validity. The two have been terribly confused. Secondly, it leads us to look for simplistic, single-factor solutions. (If not "simplistic," then at least "over-simplified.") Language behavior is too complex to be measured by sampling only one aspect (or two or more aspects which highly correlate). And added to the inherent complexity of language, we have the relationship of the applicant as a student in the university. Not only is it a single-factor model of student-placement, it fails to attempt to explain how attributes interact and interrelate, which is the goal of science.

Thus, I am making two claims: first, language behavior in the university is multidimensional, including cognitive, affective, and psychomotor factors, and the current ESLPE is less than unidimensional, covering only some sort of vague "integrative" skill; and second, we should be attempting to construct valid measures of language behavior, and the current examination attemps only to find reliable measures.

III. VALIDATING THE ESLPE

Harold V. Connolly and Tamar Goldmann, in their respective UCLA MATESL research under my direction, have both attempted to validate the ESLPE. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this working paper to present many interesting aspects of their findings. I will report a few of their results; and I will report some of my own research, based on their data. These few comments may stimulate others to treat research in ESL language testing in a university setting as the complex multivariate phenomena it is.

A. Factor Analysis

Connolly rated on a four-scale oral interview a large sample (N = 142) of 1971 ESLPE UCLA students. The 1971 examination was made up of three parts: four cloze tests, four dictation passages, and two composition items (a sentence completion and a paragraph completion); but actual placement in the English service courses was based on two cloze(#1 & 3) and two dictations (#1 & 3), with the Dictation score counting for 66% of the total test score. Connolly found that his oral interviews, in a multiple regression formula, predicted 70% of the variance in the ESLPE. Using his data, I constructed a 21 X 21 correlation matrix (i.e., intercorrelated 21 variables), in Table I. Then, using BMDX72, I computed the factor analysis shown in Tables IV and V.

TABLE IV (Before rotation)

		1	2	3
1	CLOZE1	0.92507	0.22740	0.07412
2	CLOZE2	0.84594	0.32125	-0.04094
3	CLOZE3	0.85490	0.28525	-0.16607
4	CLOZE4	0.77937	0.43610	-0.10862
5	DICT1	0.85198	-0.33131	-0.14607
6	DICT2	0.85999	-0.34587	-0.13122
7	DICT3	0.89009	-0.29053	-0.12127
8	DICT4	0.85612	-0.33226	-0.23208
9	COMP1	0.74784	0.36018	0.12676
10	COMP2	0.77147	0.28258	-0.07269
11	AVGCL1	0.89487	0.27616	-0.06404
12	AVGCL2	0.85564	0.40457	-0.08169
13	AVGDCT1	0.90029	-0.32051	-0.13768
14	AVGDCT2	0.88325	-0.34892	-0.18787
15	AVGCOMP	0.32240	0.34125	0.01401
16	AVGTEST1	0.95898	-0.14777	-0.12322
17	AVGTEST2	0.95134	-0.15123	-0.17109
18	PHON	0.74659	-0.08979	0.47242
19	GRAMMAR	0.80843	-0.11825	0.39253
20	FLUENCY	0.78297	-0.17793	0.44595
21	UNDERSTN	0.67373	-0.14436	0.55300
CUMULATIVE PROPORTION OF TOTAL VARIANCE		0.70389	0.78772	0.84327
EIGENVALUES		14.78175	1.76036	1.16665

TABLE V (Rotated)

	1	2	3
1	0.63982	-0.11752	0.24915
2	0.78062	-0.12455	0.10145
3	0.77748	-0.24942	-0.02845
4	0.99843	-0.03952	-0.02160
5	0.10381	-0.78535	0.14702
6	0.09832	-0.79149	0.16958
7	0.16076	-0.74856	0.17512
8	0.13638	-0.84900	0.05125
9	0.73173	0.07347	0.25469
10	0.70951	-0.14791	0.05520
11	0.76207	-0.20333	0.09978
12	0.88584	-0.08328	0.03729
13	0.13753	-0.79161	0.16691
14	0.11084	-0.84486	0.11263
15	0.77675	-0.05703	0.15219
16	0.35017	-0.65345	0.15598
17	0.35460	-0.68699	0.10063
18	0.15760	-0.08351	0.75683
19	0.17771	-0.19354	0.69037
20	0.08702	-0.19755	0.75971
21	0.04195	-0.04225	0.84181

FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX

	1	2	3
1	1.00000	-0.51429	0.46258
2	-0.51429	1.00000	-0.47541
3	0.46258	-0.47541	1.00000

Table IV presents a single-factor solution, accounting for 70% of the variance. On this single factor, all 21 variables loaded heavily. Thus, it must be some sort of general English ability component. Table V shows a rotated factor matrix, which highly intercorrelates. However, note that the input tasks are nevertheless well separated. The first factor contains cloze, the second contains dictation, and the third contains the oral interviews. Composition loads in the first factor (with Cloze), not a very surprising fact as both of the tests involve filling in blanks. Although these three factors are very highly intercorrelated, the analysis still provides evidence that administering a one-item (a single subtest) examination will not measure what a two-item test will. For example, one dictation plus one cloze gives more information that do two dictations; and including a part from the oral interviews (any one of the four scores) will provide even more information, as determined by this factor analysis. The cluster analysis, below, supports this.

By reducing the different subtests of the ESLPE from five to two, the test constructor has limited his chances of measuring more than two principal components.

B. Cluster Analysis

Another statistical technique which graphically displays the relationship between variables is the cluster analysis (BMDP1M). Chart 1 is called a tree or distance matrix. Each cluster is formed by an oblique line dropping from a horizontal line. For example, variable No. 1 and 2 do not cluster; 3 and 2 do cluster; 1, 2 and 5 do not; but 1, 2, 3 and 4 do; 9 and 10 cluster; 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, and 10 cluster. The numbers represent distances and are computed from correlation coefficients; the larger the distance, the lower the correlation. The formulas are

$$r = \frac{100 - (2 \times \text{Distance})}{100} \qquad \text{Distance} = \frac{100 - (r \times 100)}{2}$$

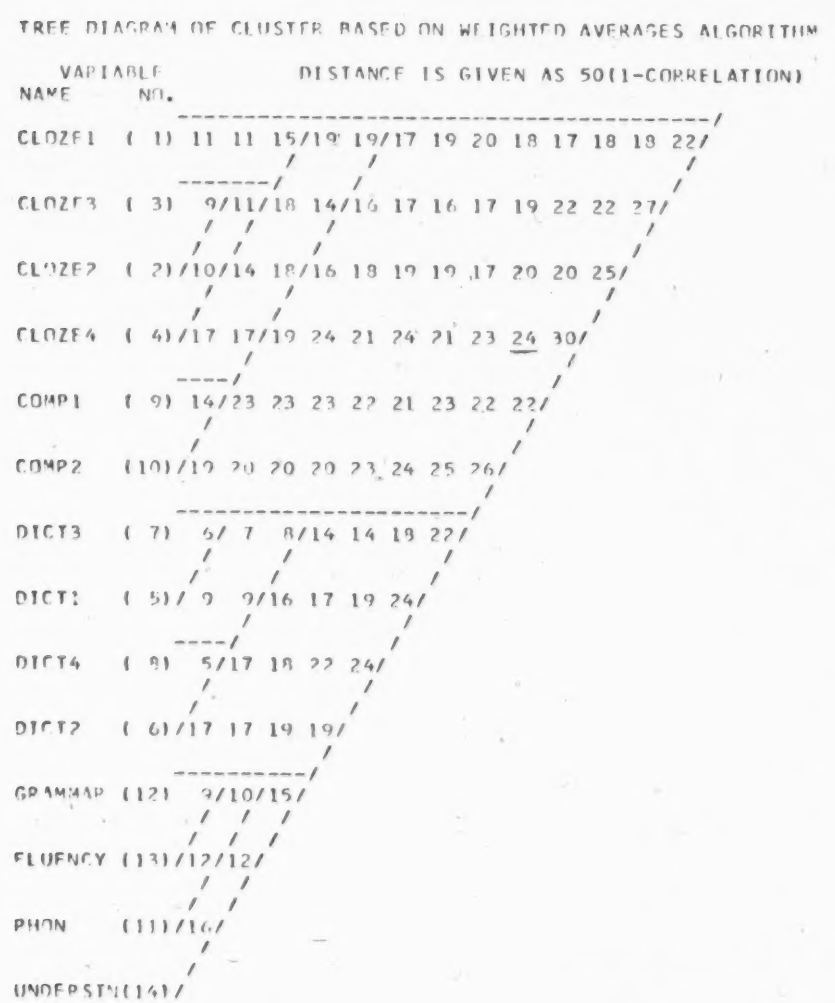
If the distance is 10, then r=.80. Thus Cloze-1 correlates with Cloze-3 at .78, and its distance is 11, the first number in the matrix. Cloze-3 and Cloze-2 correlate

.82, and their distance is 9.

The distance between any two variables is located on the intersection of the horizontal of the upper variable on the list and the oblique rising from the lower variable. Thus Cloze 4 and Phonetics intersect at the number 24, their distance, and they correlate r=.53.

This cluster analysis was computed using only 14 first-order scores, i.e., none of the scores auto-correlated.

CHART I
CLUSTER ANALYSIS
(W/O AUTO-CORRELATIONS)



C. GPA and the ESLPE

It is interesting to note the relationship between students' "success" (=Grade Point Average, GPA) at UCLA, background characteristics (sex, language, residence, major, and others), and the UCLA ESLPE. In Goldmann's research (see the abstract of her thesis in this volume of Workpapers), in which she focused on the relationship between GPA and English proficiency, she found a number of interesting relationships which I will not go into here. But I will report the results of her multiple regression analysis predicting undergraduate and graduate first and fourth quarter GPA's for the Fall 1969 group of applicants and the first quarter GPA's for the Fall 1970 group. She found, for all nine sets of GPA's as dependent variables, the ESLPE to be a poor predictor, poor in any practical sense. But poor as it was, she found that in six times out of eight Reading entered the equation first. Table VI presents the results. Clearly, Dictation is not as important as Reading in GPA; for every case (except for undergraduates 1969), Reading outranked Dictation. The difference is both statistically significant and practically important.

Table VI

	First Quarter						Fourth Quarter		
	1969			1970			1969		
	UG	G	All	UG	G	All	UG	G	All
N =	88	81	169	87	138	225	88	81	169
Dictation	4	3	4	4	2	2	3	2	4
Reading	3	1	1	3	1	1	4	1	1
Vocabulary	2	2	3	1	3	3	2	3	2
Grammar	1	4	2	2	4	4	1	4	3
Variance Explained	5%	9%	3%	17%	10%	15%	15%	10%	8%

But it may be argued that the ESLPE was not meant to predict GPA, and indeed, in a narrow sense, it wasn't. (1) But it was meant to identify those applicants who need assistance in English and who could profit from our ESL service courses. Supposedly, without our service courses, those same students would make a significantly lower GPA, perhaps even fail to get their degree. (2) Harriet Kirn, in her MATESL research under Oller's direction, has given evidence that dictation, as tested by the ESLPE, isn't significantly improved by practicing dictation. Research in reading is massive, and it supports the notion that proper instruction improves reading skills.

D. Implications

The implications are clear. The current ESLPE misplaces emphasis on cloze and dictation. Because dictation is relatively unimportant to GPA when compared with reading and because reading skills can be more assuredly taught than dictation, I submit that the ESLPE should stress reading over dictation. And I submit that the ESL service courses should stress activities which enhance reading, not dictation.

Factor analyses* also support the notion that reading is more important to GPA than is dictation. The ESLPE scores and GPA were analyzed by the SPSS Factor

*See Factor Analysis in the Appendix

Analysis program, type PA2, a rotated, varimax analysis. For both 1969 and 1970, the results clearly showed Reading and GPA to load into one factor and Dictation and Reading into the second factor. Whatever the two factors may ultimately include, GPA is more closely aligned with Reading than with Dictation.

Goldmann found that students who were "residents" of California (and had been in the USA for a year or more) scored significantly higher on Dictation than students who were "non-residents" (presumably those had been here for less than a year). However, these two groups did not significantly differ on the other three subtests: Reading, Vocabulary, or Grammar. And they did not differ in GPA. Thus dictation seems to be learned in natural situations. Reading, on the otherhand, is learned in the classroom.

It may sound trite to claim that language and success, no matter how you measure them, are complexly related and interact with a number of other variables and categories at a large multi-university. But the current ESLPE denies that they are complex. This entire work paper pleads that we view the situation in its complexity and try to model our research and testing to match it.

IV. REVISING THE ESLPE

A. What Tests Should Do

Carroll (1961, p. 35, and in Allen, 1965, p. 370) has said

> . . .an ideal English language proficiency test should make it possible to differentiate, to the greatest possible extent, levels of performance in those dimensions of performance which are relevant to the kinds of situations in which the examinees will find themselves after being selected on the basis of the test. The validity of the test can be established not solely on the basis of whether it appears to involve a good sample of the English language but more on the basis of whether it predicts success in the learning tasks and social situations to which the examinees will be exposed. I have attempted to suggest what might be the relevant dimensions of test performance, although I have not attempted to link them with collegiate learning and social situations--that is a task for college foreign student advisers and others who are familiar with the matrix of foreign student experiences.

Carroll is simply claiming that the test should fit the situation in which it is being used.

Brière (1970, p. 385), in clarifying the notions of proficiency and achievement, has thrown light on the situation here at UCLA. We have tried to test "proficiency", in his meaning, when we should have been trying to test "achievement." He defines these notions as follows:

> We will define "**achievement**" in language performance as the extent to which an individual student has mastered the specific skills or body of information which have been presented in a formal classroom situation . . .
>
> "**Proficiency**" in a language is much more difficult to define and, obviously, much more difficult to measure in a testing situation. Proficiency is frequently defined as the degree of competence or the capability in a given language demonstrated by an individual at a given point in time independent of a specific textbook, chapter in the book, or pedagogical method. In other words, as defined by Harris "a general proficiency test indicates what an individual is capable of doing now (as the result of his cumulative learning experiences)." One of the reasons that the term "proficiency" is much more difficult to define than the term "achievement" is the inherent notion of "degree of competence" in defining "proficiency." Are we talking about "linguistic competence,"

> "communicative competence" or both? Furthermore, since language testing measures behavior, where can we find a model of behavior which we could use as a guide in designing a general proficiency test?

I agree with Briere's point, as far as he takes it. But I would like to add that we should not only be testing achievement, but we should be assessing both the needs of the student and their capacity for achievement. We should try to identify what English skills foreign students need in order to achieve success here at UCLA. Then we should attempt to test the applicants along those parameters, i.e., criterion-referenced testing. This means we must specify the objectives of the service courses along those lines as well.

B. Criterion-Referenced Testing

If we did this, we would not have to fall back on norm-referenced assignment of foreign students to the service courses. Norm-referenced testing sets up a curve of student scores, and then compares each student in the group of applicants to the whole group. Thus, no one can state 'how well' this particular student (or group) did on some predetermined objectives and in relation to some previously defined standards. And, consequently, a student's placement depends upon which group he happened to be tested with, e.g., a good student in a good group may be assigned English 33C, whereas in a poor group, the same student would have been exempted from taking English.

Criterion-referenced testing has many other advantages. Student placement is fairer. If a student is placed in a certain course, it is due to his own performance on the test, not due to his relative position in the group, i.e., the performance of the group. Besides being fairer, this decision-by-criteria leads to providing a unified series of service courses, e.g., such and such an objective is taught in English 33B. Briggs (1970, pp. 65-66) contrasts norm- and criterion-referenced testing.

Tests can provide a powerful tool of change. During my two years at the Indian Institute of Technology in Kanpur, (IIT/K), the importance that testing can take in promoting appropriate objectives and good teaching became increasingly clear to me. I supported a general final examination, supplemented by a special section for each class, prepared for every level. This forced the teachers to build skills in certain teachable areas, such as paragraph writing, library reference, term paper format, punctuation, and reading. Without this examination, the teachers would have fallen back and "taught" what they knew best. They would have lectured on literature, inappropriate both as a method and as a goal, for the IIT/K students.

V. UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES

The current ESLPE has three main consequences, all detrimental to our ESL service program.

First, the test emphasizes and promotes norm-referenced testing when in fact the program should emphasize criterion-referenced testing. It fails to guide our program. As it is now, it tests skills which are so general and vague that, consequently, if I were a teacher of elementary service courses, I would not know what to stress.

Second, the test does not do what it should do: predict those applicants who need help in the kinds of English skills which will assure them of success in their studies here at UCLA.

Finally, the present ESLPE has the unfortunate consequence of promoting an oversimplified model of language learning, skills, and use. Certainly our ESL service courses do teach and should teach more than what can be measured by dictation and cloze tests. And success at UCLA depends on more than dictation and cloze. Educational reality is very complex, with the interaction of a number of variables. Scientific explanation attempts to show the relationships between these variables. The present examination attempts nothing. It cops out on all three counts: placing students, guiding our program, and explaining language and success at UCLA.

Earl Rand

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APPENDIX

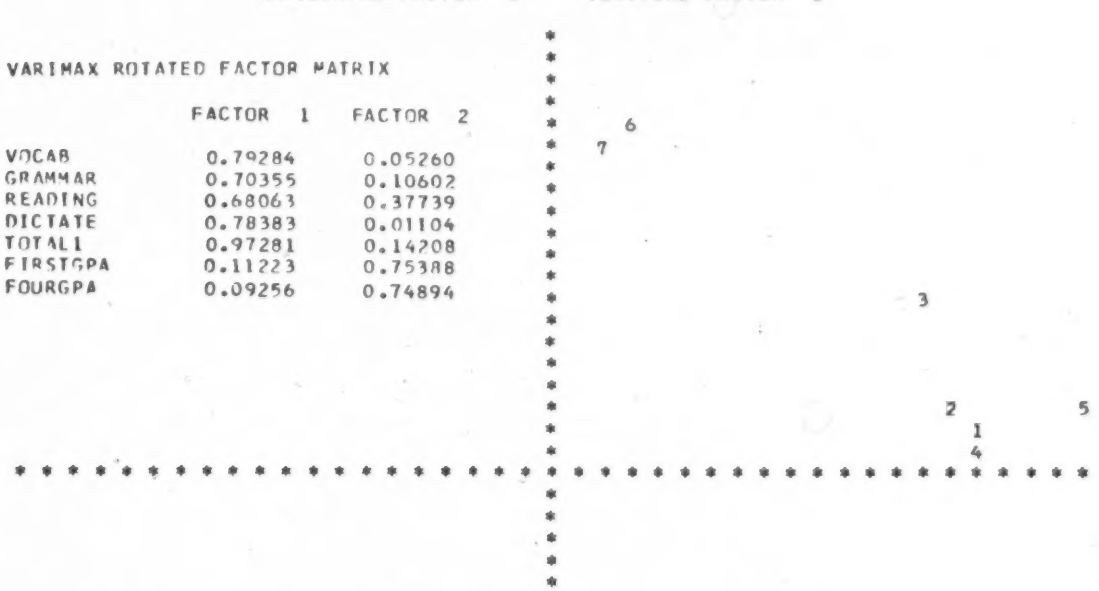
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ESLPE (PARTS & TOTAL) AND GPA (FIRST & FOURTH QTR)
Graduates 1969, N = 81

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS.

		VOCAB	GRAMMAR	READING	DICTATE	TOTAL1	FIRSTGPA	FOURGPA
1	VOCAB	1.00000	0.44610	0.50902	0.49249	0.76818	0.22671	0.07995
2	GRAMMAR	0.44610	1.00000	0.43806	0.37160	0.63930	0.13669	0.16254
3	READING	0.50902	0.43806	1.00000	0.38312	0.73606	0.28201	0.26832
4	DICTATE	0.49249	0.37160	0.38312	1.00000	0.84200	0.09514	0.21195
5	TOTAL1	0.76818	0.63930	0.73606	0.84200	1.00000	0.23386	0.20881
6	FIRSTGPA	0.22671	0.13669	0.28201	0.09514	0.23386	1.00000	0.21281
7	FOURGPA	0.07995	0.16254	0.26832	0.21195	0.20881	0.21281	1.00000

VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
1 VOCAB	0.79284	0.05260
2 GRAMMAR	0.70355	0.10602
3 READING	0.68063	0.37739
4 DICTATE	0.78383	0.01104
5 TOTAL1	0.97281	0.14208
6 FIRSTGPA	0.11223	0.75388
7 FOURGPA	0.09256	0.74894



A SCHEMA FOR PEDAGOGICAL INSIGHTS[1]

Robert D. Wilson

It took quite a while for practitioners of TESL to detach themselves from absolute faith in pattern practice. The growing concern with pattern practice finally succeeded in breaking with the faith when Clifford Prator saw pattern practice as manipulation, pointing out at the same time that all that practice was not altogether appropriate practice for a terminal objective of language, communication (Prator 1965). Prator's insight was based on implicitly seeing two levels of the pedagogical schema: manipulation as a term in a learning assumption and pattern practice as a term in an instructional hypothesis. Insights like his are more easily come by when a proper schema is explicitly available. It is the purpose of this paper to propose a schema that will provide the analytical clarity needed for generating insights into pedagogical issues and, consequently, for efficiently developing curriculum, any curriculum.

The schema has four levels: Learning assumption, instructional hypothesis, teaching technique, and teacher performance. A learning assumption postulates that an interpretation on the part of the learner will generate learning of some kind. An instructional hypothesis predicts the condition under which the learner's (appropriate) interpretation is likely to be secured. A teaching technique determines and projects the condition-corresponding behavior on the part of the teacher that is likely to trigger the intended interpretation on the part of the learner. A teacher's performance actualizes the technique and makes it believable, like an actor makes a role believable.

(See figure A[2])

There are two theses to the schema. First, that each level of the schema is a system: a system of assumptions, a system of hypotheses, a system of techniques, and, even, a "system" of performance.[3] Second, that it is the teacher's creative act in making the performance of the technique believable that triggers the intended interpretation, and the interpretation--itself a kind of learning--generates the learning promised by the assumption.

(See figure B)

The chain of events from the teacher's creative act to the learning promised by the assumption is as strong as the weakest link in the derivations from level to level in the schema. A derivation, say of an instructional hypothesis from a learning assumption, is not an exercise in logic, where one instructional hypothesis is the only necessary derivation from a particular learning assumption. Rather, derivation is the bold act of an intuition, a decision based on insufficient evidence.

(See figure C)

A SCHEMA FOR ANALYSING PEDAGOGY

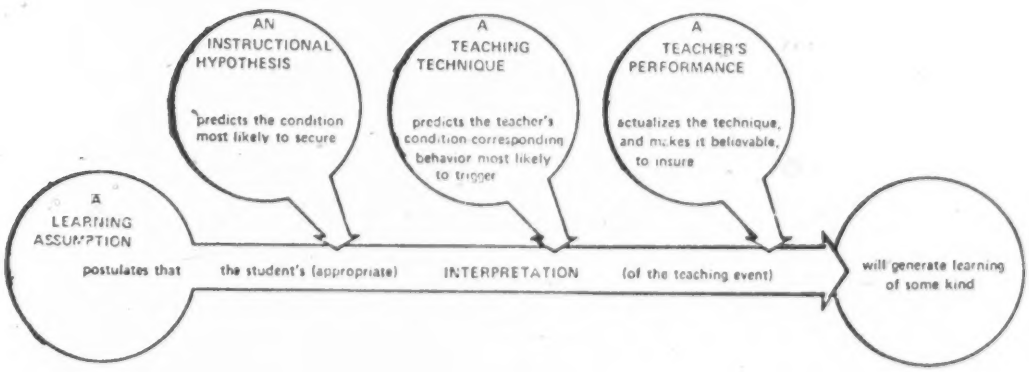

AN INSTRUCTIONAL HYPOTHESIS
predicts the condition most likely to secure
A TEACHING TECHNIQUE
predicts the teacher's condition corresponding behavior most likely to trigger
A TEACHER'S PERFORMANCE
actualizes the technique, and makes it believable, to insure
A LEARNING ASSUMPTION
postulates that
the student's (appropriate)
INTERPRETATION
(of the teaching event)
will generate learning of some kind

FIGURE A[2]

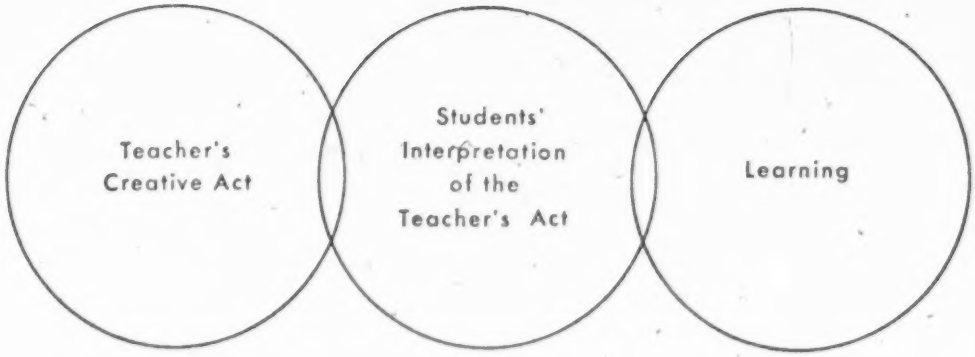


FIGURE B : The chain of events

Learning Assumptions vs. Instructional Hypotheses

The confusion of learning assumptions with teaching hypotheses is apparently quite common in education, taking the form of doctrinaire instructional hypotheses. This happens because it is apparently presumed that the derivation of instructional hypotheses from learning assumptions is an exercise in logic, where one instructional hypothesis is the only logical derivation from a particular assumption. This is well exemplified in statements that inform both assumption and hypothesis as one and the same claim. For example, it is claimed that learning increases with the increase of individual attention provided in smaller classes, in smaller groups within a class, or ideally in a one teacher-one pupil ratio in a tutorial situation. The assumption: learning increases with the increase of individual attention. The hypothesis: this increase in individual attention is effected through smaller classes, smaller groups within a class, or a tutorial situation. The doctrine: only this hypothesis will bring about the increased learning promised in the assumption.

One source of the confusion between learning assumptions and instructional hypotheses is the failure to take note that while a learning assumption is, as a rule, held true for an individual, an instructional hypothesis, in the social context of today's education, is predicted to hold true for a classroom full of pupils. So, learning increases with increase of individual attention -- for the individual so attended, according to the instructional hypothesis that opts for, say, small groups in a class, in which individual attention is expressed as something physical or geographical. Thus, in a classroom full of pupils where a teacher has subdivided his class into five smaller groups, group A is getting more of the teacher's attention at any given time. Presumably, group A is increasing its learning. However, groups B, C, D, and E are meanwhile not getting the teacher's attention as implied by the hypothesis. Presumably, these groups do not achieve increased learning. Indeed, these four groups achieve less learning than if the teacher attended to the class as a whole, distributing what little of his attention is available to each student in such a large class.[4] An important question is raised. Is the increased learning in group A alone greater or less than the increased learning for the whole class if attended to as a whole? The point here is the question, not the possible answer to the question. The question suggests that the proposed instructional hypothesis, teacher-pupil ratio, might not be adequately expressing the assumption of increased learning from increased individual attention. It implies that there might be another instructional hypothesis which would be adequate.

If individual attention is not to be expressed as something physical or geographical in the specific form of teacher-pupil ratio, how else might individual attention be expressed? Note, first, that attention implies attention felt by the students (since ineffective attention would promise no increase in learning). Note, second, that individualized attention implies attention felt by each and every student as applying to himself. Given these two observations, individual attention might simply mean that each and every child in the class believes that he has a secure place in the mind (and heart?) of the teacher. Secure.... a guarantee that nothing, but nothing, will threaten that security, not failure to succeed, not failure to behave, not failure to conform, nothing. Such a feeling of security does not occasion

remarks like "The teacher doesn't like to call on me" nor the compulsive "Teacher likes to call on me first." Appreciate the challenge of these remarks, considering that even some of the best intentioned teachers fall into patterns of calling on mostly one category of pupils in the class. For example: mostly the brightest pupils or mostly the lowest ones because the teacher likes to provide challenge; mostly the best behaved ones or mostly the most troublesome because the teacher means to keep control; mostly the well-adjusted or mostly the maladjusted because the teacher wishes to be a parent. The challenge: "Call on me to participate on the same chance that anyone and everyone of my classmates has. Do not select among us, not even me, on the basis of any criterion whatsoever. Don't make me dependent on any criterion for a place in your mind and heart. Such dependency makes me insecure, distracting me from the objective of the lesson, from learning, and eventually from caring about learning --caring, and attending, only to the criterion you have set up."

To meet such a challenge, I have provided curricula[5] with an instructional hypothesis. randomization of pupil participation assures individual attention for all members of the class. Randomization of pupil participation means that every child in the class has equal chances of participation, equal to every other child, virtually all the time.[6] It means, further, that every child in the class believes he has an equal chance. If the hypothesis is found to hold true, then, on the basis of the learning assumption that increased individual attention brings about increased learning, it may be inferred that to the degree that the pupils feel assured of individual attention, they will achieve increased learning. The difference between this instructional hypothesis and that of teacher-pupil ratio is the degree to which they can assure individual attention to each and every child in the class. Whatever the difference and whichever assures greater individual attention, it has been demonstrated that more than one instructional hypothesis can be derived from one and the same learning assumption.

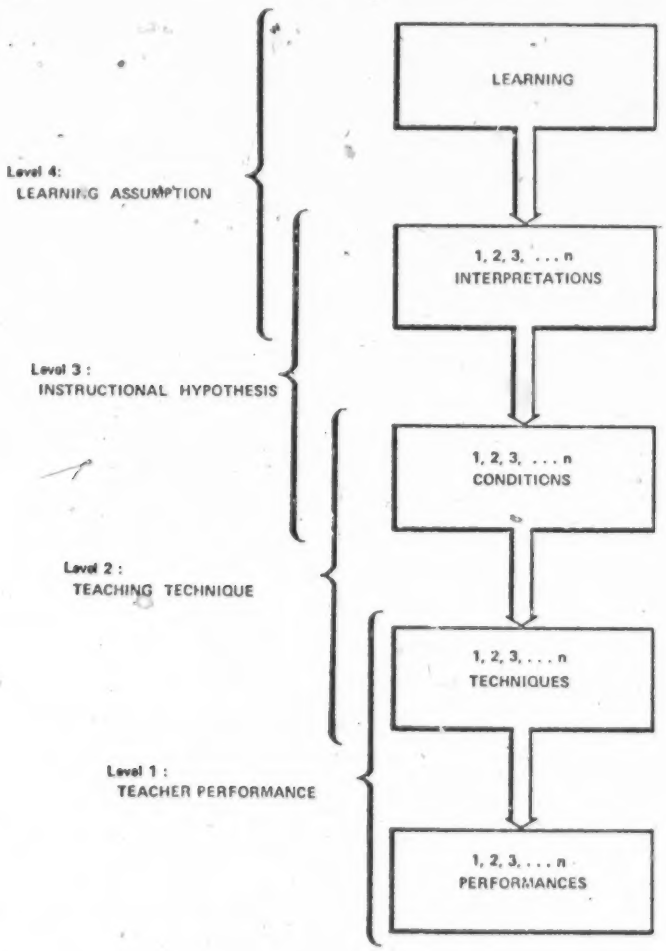


FIGURE C : Derivation (analytic) from level to level

Instructional Hypotheses vs. Teaching Techniques

However, neither the teacher-pupil ratio nor the randomization hypothesis is a hypothesis in the sense of testable, at least not by current experimental methods in pedagogy. Both of them need to be behaviorally defined. And both should be placed in very specific contexts, also behaviorally defined. If they are to be compared, their contexts should be identical or near identical, depending on the rigor required.

The behavioral form of an instructional hypothesis is a teaching technique, and the technique is tested in a specific teaching situation which, itself, includes other teaching techniques.

An experiment attempts to determine the effect of the teaching technique in the teaching situation. Confusion arises when the experiment is believed to have determined the effect of the instructional hypothesis rather than of the teaching technique. This is generally due to the behavioral orientation of interpreters of experiments: disinclined as they are to recognize a more general, nonbehavioral, yet insightful instructional hypothesis underlying the more specific, behavioral, also insightful teaching technique, they make the teaching technique the underlying principle itself. This confusion of technique for the more general hypothesis reveals itself among some educators in their obsession with particular media -- either for or against them -- for example, color coding, workbooks, primers.

The confusion of teaching technique for instructional hypothesis is sometimes traceable to the presupposition that there is only one technique for an instructional hypothesis. But this is just not the case. For example: one technique for effecting the instructional hypothesis of randomization is to have the teacher select students for participation by picking out a card from a deck of cards (like an honest card dealer would), each card with a pupil's name on it; another would be to pull out a slip of paper from a paper sack full of slips of papers with the pupils' names on them; still another would be for a blindfolded student in the middle of a circle of his peers to turn several times with one hand outstretched, stopping to point, unpredictably, to one of them; and why not a crap game between each pupil of a pair, the winner of each pair playing against another winner, and so on until only one winner remains. All of these techniques but the last one have the advantage of brevity, leaving enough time in the period for the objective to be learned. The last one, however, will take most of the class period, leaving very little time for learning. Should the last technique be the one used in a pedagogical experiment, the effect of randomization on learning would be minimal, that is, nonsignificant. Should such an experiment be interpreted as a demonstration of the ineffectiveness of the instructional hypothesis? Or of the teaching technique?

On the other hand, a technique that is demonstrably effective in an experiment elicits a degree of confidence in the underlying instructional hypothesis--but not to the exclusion of other representative techniques that may also be demonstrably effective. The exclusion of other techniques as representative of one and the same instructional hypothesis when one technique has already been demonstrated effective probably arises when the experiment is believed to be generalizable to other contexts: that is, the same technique that proved more effective[7] in a specific context is applicable, unchanged, to another context. The same technique may prove effective in the next context, but then again it may not. Stated this way, hypothetically, the non-generalizability of a technique elicits academic agreement to the thesis. For example, the demonstrable effectiveness of the technique of written texts for the instructional hypothesis of programmed instruction among able readers does not turn out as effective a technique among weak readers, for example, beginning ESL learners in high school classes where number systems are taught through programmed texts in English.

The Tasks of Formulation and Reformulation

One can begin to appreciate the tasks of formulating and reformulating teaching techniques, instructional hypotheses, and learning assumptions by realizing the implications of the thesis that there is more than one possible derivation from term to term in the schema. This is the thesis that has been argued so far in this paper. An example of the implications of this thesis in the formulation of a teaching technique from an instructional hypothesis is here presented to plant the seed of appreciation.

The example. The questions below are relevant to the formulation of a technique (or set of techniques -- depending on one's unit of behavior) for the instructional hypothesis recommending a smaller teacher-pupil ratio in a classroom, specifically, smaller groups within a class.

(a) Will the class be divided into two, three, four, five, or more groups?
(b) What criteria will be used to determine the groups?
(c) Will the pupils be informed of the criteria for the grouping? If so, how will the criteria be presented?
(d) Which subgroup will the teacher attend to first on any given unit of time, say during a day, which second, which third (etc.)? Will different groups be attended to first on different days? If so, how will this be determined?
(e) Will the teaching differ for each group or only for some of the groups, or not differ at all?
(f) Will the groups not directly attended to by the teacher at any given time be self-teaching? Or will busy work be allowed? How will self-teaching be distinguished from busy work?

Still more questions come to mind should the division of the class into small groups be changeable:

(g) Will the different groups be formed daily, weekly, or monthly? Or will some particular behavior, like a symptom, signal the need for a new division of the class?
(h) Will the same criteria to determine the groups be used each time a new division is formed? Or different criteria?
(i) Will the time taken to determine the groups at different times be significant enough to affect, negatively, the promises of increased learning? If so, how can this be avoided?
(j) Will teaching change as different groups are determined according to different criteria?

Appreciation of the tasks of formulating and reformulating the components of each level of schema deepens with a consideration of a second thesis of the schema, that each level is a system -- a system of techniques, a system of hypotheses, and a system of assumptions. For example, take questions (e) and (j) above, both of which ask about teaching itself. If the teaching will differ for the different groups or if the teaching will change as the groups change, how will the teaching change? An entire spectrum of teaching techniques becomes a kaleidoscope of questions. And the answers to these questions, a specific set of techniques, can make or break the previously determined technique (whatever it was) for implementing the teacher - pupil ratio hypothesis. Thus, the formulation of a technique requires the formulation of other techniques related to it, that is, the task is one of formulating a system of techniques. It is easy to believe that if the teaching techniques are all of a system, the instructional hypotheses from which they are derived are quite likely to be all of a system themselves--pari passu for learning assumptions.

On the level of instructional hypotheses, relatedness between hypotheses can also be shown. Take the instructional hypothesis of randomization explained earlier. It gives everyone in class equal chance to participate, yes, those who feel ready as well as those who do not feel ready. When the latter are called to participate, an important learning assumption is violated: a student must feel ready to participate if he is to improve his learning, perhaps even, if he is to learn at all. What is needed, then, is an instructional hypotheses derived from the learning assumption of felt readiness. So, I have provided the curricula with an instructional hypothesis that purports to reflect that assumption: volunteering to participate. This hypothesis requires the teacher to permit a student to refuse to participate when, as a result of randomization, he is expected to participate. (It also requires the teacher to call on only those students who are volunteering to participate in the situation where only the teacher's sense of randomization is the means of selection -- but this aspect of volunteering is not relevant here.) On the other hand, volunteering without randomization would make boldness a criterion for belonging, violating the learning assumption that learning comes more readily when the student feels like an individual: that he belongs simply because he is he.

The learning assumptions are systemic in that they form a hierarchy of categories. First, there are those learning assumptions which postulate the interpretations that make it possible for learning to take place: its initiation, its continuance, and its termination. Learning might be said to be initiated by interpreting a phenomenon, say something heard, as having a particular feature, for example, a car engine with a noise pattern like that of a neighbor's. The learning might be said to be continued by evaluating the feature as worthy of checking, for example: if it is the neighbor's car, he is home earlier than usual. The learning might be said to be terminated by checking the hypothesis that it is the neighbor's car or by deciding not to check the hypothesis. The latter decision leaves the individual with only an hypothesis, the former with a conclusion: in either case, learning has occurred.

Then there are those learning assumptions which postulate the interpretations that make it possible for learning of a certain kind to take place. For example, what interpretation might be postulated for product-learning that is capable of generating more learning of the product, for example, for counting 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.? Possibly, it might be assumed that the interpretation of the product, the subject matter, as having structure, a principle, a generalization (and a particular one at that) is the interpretation that would make product-learning capable of generating more learning of the product; for example, to interpret counting 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. as an instance of addition by 1 (or, even more generally, of addition) would make the student capable of counting with numbers he is not familiar with, say 194, 328, 576.

There is a relationship between the two kinds of learning assumptions above. Learning assumptions that postulate interpretations which make it possible for learning to take place are prerequisites to the learning assumptions that postulate interpretations which make it possible for learning of a certain kind to take place. This seems like an obvious relationship, and it is, but it is apparently not kept in mind by some practicing educators when formulating (implicitly, probably) their instructional hypotheses (and the condition-corresponding techniques). Take the professor who describes structure XYZ of his subject matter in a lecture but fails to point out that he is describing structure XYZ or at what point in his lecture he is describing it--to initiate learning. Or take the professor who does point out structure XYZ but fails to justify, interest, or motivate the students to consider structure XYZ as worthy of checking out--to continue learning. Or the professor who does both of the preceding but fails to provide an opportunity for checking out the accuracy of the students' understanding of the structure, say by providing examples which the students have to identify as having or not having structure XYZ--to terminate learning. In any case, the relationship suggests the systemic character of the learning assumptions.

The reformulation of the components on each level may start with the learning assumptions. A new assumption may suggest itself, an established assumption may be seen in a different light, a former and rejected assumption may not appear valid. What follows is a reexamination of the system of instructional hypothesis, sometimes resulting in a modification. This, in turn, prompts a reexamination of a specific technique and the rest of the system of techniques, sometimes resulting in a new design. Or the reformulation may start with an instructional hypothesis. A particular hypothesis may be inadequate, failing to provide the stated interpretation. Or it may be superfluous, another instructional hypothesis already supplying the stated interpretation. Or one instructional hypothesis may be inconsistent with another, one nullifying the effects of the other. What follows is a reexamination of the system of assumptions and the system of techniques.

The motivation for reformulating techniques is empirical, or should be. This is the level of the schema which is testable. As the techniques of a curriculum get tested, whether rigorously or loosely, a pattern for modification may be revealed. The key to discovering a pattern and selecting the most promising new design of techniques is a familiarity with the system of instructional hypotheses from which the system of teaching techniques has been derived. Modifying the system of techniques means a reexamination of the system of instructional hypotheses, making it, in turn, subject to possible modification itself. With possible ramifications for the system of learning assumptions.

The Task of Improving Performance

Awesome as the task of formulating and reformulating is in the development of a curriculum, even more challenging is the task of training teachers (or of teachers training themselves) in the performance of the techniques. It is obvious, but the parallelism should be noted, that just as there may be more than one instructional hypothesis to express a learning assumption and more than one teaching technique to give form to an instructional hypothesis, there may be more than one teacher performance for implementing a teaching technique.

Teaching performance varies from teacher to teacher and from day to day for the same teacher. It is dependent on the teacher's ability to act, to play a role more challenging than that of an actor or actress on a stage if only for the fact that the teacher's acting involves audience participation, demanding that the teacher prepare (with the help of the curriculum design) for a variety of situations. And the teacher must do this before and with an audience that must be more than entertained, an audience that must be taught so that it learns--as in the finest forms of play making. Like an actor or actress, the teacher must practice and perfect techniques, learn and identify with the role (instructional hypotheses), as well as understand and believe in the play (the curriculum). Like a Burton or a Bancroft, the teacher is a creative artist -- at the performance, leaving (qua teacher) plot and script to the playwright (curriculum designer), direction to the director (curriculum supervisor) and production to the producer (school principal).[8]

Teacher performance, like acting performance, must be credible and consistently credible in order for the pupils, like an audience, to be willing and able to interpret the act of teaching for what it is: a learning opportunity. Willingness to make learning the interpretation of the teaching act ultimately depends on the credibility of the teacher's performance. Does the manner belie the words? Does the frown belie the smile? Does even the overjoyed surprise at a pupil's unexpected correct response belie the low esteem for this particular pupil? On the other hand, the ability of the pupils to make learning the interpretation of the teaching act ultimately depends on the consistency of the credibility of the teacher's performance. Does correction always provide individualized instruction -- or does it sometimes express disappointment at the pupil for the mistake? Does the presentation of the lessons' objective always imply its importance and inherent interest -- or are some lessons' objectives not really to be taken seriously as learning tasks? The recurrence of inconsistency increases the probability of error, the error of giving an interpretation other than learning to an act of teaching.

The seriousness of inconsistency is difficult to overestimate. As inconsistency repeats inconsistency in teaching, inconsistency begins to infect related areas like discipline, affection, esteem ... and eventually inconsistency repeats inconsistency on all levels of communication between teacher and pupils... until finally mood and feeling alone dominate. The effect on the pupils? Anxiety.

Or, worse, as inconsistency repeats inconsistency, the importance of the teaching act, and its intended product -- learning, becomes suspect: "What does teacher really want? Not learning. Not all the time anyway. Sometimes teacher just wants me to speak up loudly. Sometimes to make mistakes...when I get something right, teacher finds some other mistake I've made...I guess I'm stupid. Sometimes to behave... calling on me when I'm not paying attention... what I say is not important so long as I start paying attention again." Learning as the meaning of class activities loses importance and other meanings for the school experience gain importance. Eventually, the primacy of learning loses its hold on the students and the primacy of conformity to teacher's wishes takes over. Only the teacher's personality can hold the class now, and if that loses its attraction (as is likely with inconsistent personalities), the pupils' chances of maturing into self-learners are those of a poker addict playing against a crooked dealer. But, unlike the poker addict who can't quit playing poker, the learning addict (he is born an addict) may very well decide to quit the game of learning when he realizes the odds against inconsistent teachers. If he is blessed with wisdom, appreciating the high stakes involved, he only quits school, not learning.

On the other hand, a consistently credible teacher, especially one so confident in his techniques that he consistently expects learning as the appropriate interpretation of his teaching, emphasizes the importance of learning, underlining it with talent, effort, time, and sincerity. There is no better way to keep students hooked on learning.

NOTES

[1]This paper is a slightly revised version of an early section of a longer paper, "Assumptions for bilingual instruction in the primary grades of Navajo schools," requested for (1) Conference on Child Language, November 22-24, 1971, Chicago, sponsored by the International Association for Applied Linguistics (Stockholm), the Center for Applied Linguistics (Washington), and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (New York), and (2) Bilingualism in the Southwest, Editor: Paul Turner, University of Arizona Press, to be published before Fall of 1972.

[2]This figure was contributed by Ms. Conley Day.

[3]The level of performance is also systemic, requiring a coordination of skills and a recurring pattern of such coordination in order for the performance to be effective and consistently effective. This is implied in the section, "the task of improving performance." The reason for discussing performance separately from the other levels is that the others are more amenable to analytic systematization while performance is more amenable to synthetic systematization.

[4]Perhaps, if the children in Group B through E are self-teaching rather than simply keeping out of the teacher's way with busy work, some amount of increased learning can be claimed, that is, if.

[5]One for Navajo students in the primary grades, another for Chicago students also in the primary grades.

[6]No one instructional hypothesis can dominate all of the class time; otherwise, other useful hypotheses would have to be excluded. The effectiveness of an instructional hypothesis often depends on the presence of another instructional hypothesis (or more) in the same teaching situation. In this case, Randomization is related to Volunteering.

[7]The notion of inference from sample to population (parameter) in experiments on human behavior is currently being debated; cf. Denton E. Morrison and Ramon E. Henkel (eds.), The Significance Test Controversy (1970).

[8]A similar comment was made by Bernard Spolsky in "An Evaluation of Two Sets of Materials for Teaching English as a Second Language to Navajo Beginners," Final Report, BIA Contract No. N00 C 1420 2415, June 13, 1969. The comment:

> "To what extent does a precise curriculum free a teacher, and to what extent does it bind her? A difficult question to answer in the abstract, but in practice much simpler than it appears. An excellent teacher with unlimited preparation time will be more creative with less guidance, but the average teacher, with a full teaching day, performs best when she is called on to "perform" rather than "compose." The musical analogy is reasonable: one senses individual interpretative creativity in a performer of a piece of music rather than in an improviser. In practice, I felt more individual variation, more evidence of teacher personality, in those using the Wilson than in those with...materials."

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN CULVER CITY

Russell N. Campbell

This paper is, in part, a sequel to a paper published in the UCLA Workpapers a year ago (Campbell, 1971).* It will describe, in the form of an informal interim report, the results of applying some of the notions of bilingual education discussed in the 1971 paper to two kindergarten classes in Culver City, California, during the 1971-72 academic year.

The primary assumption underlying the earlier paper and the work reported on here is as follows: All normal children are innately capable of simultaneously learning a second language and learning what is taught in that language.

For example, we contend that Spanish - speaking children in the United States who are instructed completely in English are capable of acquiring English and, at the same time, succeeding in the English language curriculum of the school in which they are enrolled. This assumption is derived largely from the 'home-school language switch' research that has been reported on extensively by Lambert and his colleagues (Lambert, et al 1970).

The 1971 Workpaper suggested that the failure of some children to succeed in a second-language scholastic milieu may be accounted for by looking beyond the assumed inadequacies of the child to the attitudes, stereotypes, and expectations of his teachers, principals, school administrators and, perhaps, of his parents. It may well be that certain children who are categorized as 'disadvantaged' by some or all of these people will be treated in such a way in the schools that their chances of academic success are greatly diminished rather than enhanced (Cf. Rist, 1970).

The inventory of attributes that might suggest to educators that certain children are disadvantaged is large and nebulous but would, in general, include those characteristics which are inconsistent with those of children from white, middle-class families. Thus, children who speak a non-standard dialect of English, or no English at all, or who represent a different culture, or whose parents are caught in a lower socioeconomic bracket are frequently considered to be disadvantaged and, consequently, poor academic risks.

We feel that the research carried out by Lambert (1970) has considerably weakened the notion that a child is disadvantaged by the fact that he speaks a language different from the language of instruction in the school in which he is enrolled. Our participation in the Culver City program described below was motivated by a desire to further study the language acquisition process and the academic progress of children who are expected to learn in a second language.

During this past year, with the cooperation and encouragement of school officials, principals, teachers, and parents of Culver City, several staff members and graduate students of the UCLA TESL department have studied the progress of children in two kindergarten (K) classes which were designed to demonstrate the basic assumption stated at the beginning of this paper. We hope to demonstrate that it is not necessarily a 'disadvantage' to begin one's academic career in a second language.

Nearly all members of the UCLA TESL staff have contributed in one way or another to this program. The following graduate students have also been major contributors: Marilyn Adams, Ruth Cathcart and Nancy Knutson.

SPANISH IMMERSION. In the first class we will describe, 19 five-year-old monolingual English speakers were taught the K curriculum completely in Spanish. The long range objectives of the program, broadly stated, are as follows:

(1) The children will acquire native-like proficiency in speaking, understanding, reading and writing Spanish. (The assumption being that by the end of the K year, the children would have attained a high degree of proficiency in understanding spoken Spanish and that proficiency in production would become evident in the first and second grades.)

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*The primary purpose of presenting this workpaper is to inform our colleagues and former students of one of the programs that has received much of our attention during the past year. A more formal report will be forthcoming.

(2) They will make normal progress in achieving the standard objectives of the elementary school curriculum; (language arts in English will be introduced as part of the first grade curriculum).

(3) They will maintain normal progress in the maturation process of their first language (English)

(4) They will develop positive attitudes toward representatives of the Spanish-speaking community while maintaining a positive self-image as representatives of the English-speaking community.

All parents in Culver City who had children eligible for K were advised last summer of the Spanish-language K class. Out of approximately 140, 22 children were volunteered by their parents for this class. Before classes actually began, one family reversed its decision; thus, the year began with 21 students. Before the mid-year holiday, one family moved out of the city and shortly thereafter another child was transferred out of the class because his parents were apprehensive about his behavior in the class and felt that it might be attributed to the special conditions under which he was receiving his education. Thus, 19 children will finish this K class taught completely in Spanish.

A word about the teacher of the class and the parents of the students before we offer a brief description of the children's progress. The only prerequisite for the teacher was that she hold a regular California elementary-school teacher's certificate and that she be a native speaker of Spanish. The teacher recruited was a young lady of Mexican descent who was born and educated in Texas. Although she had had previous experience in a bilingual education program in California, she had never received special instruction or training in teaching children in a language other than their own. We did invite her to read the reports of the studies carried out by Lambert (1970) and we discussed these with her. She appeared to share our complete optimism that the children would fulfill the objectives stated above.

The teacher has presented herself to the children throughout the year as a monolingual speaker of Spanish; however, although in the early part of the year she pretended to not understand requests and questions directed to her by the children in English, in recent months one can observe that she responds immediately to the children's English, but always in Spanish.

The parents of the children in this class represent a broad spectrum of Culver City society. Background information is available on each family represented, including their level of education, employment, and knowledge of languages other than English. Two families are of Chinese descent, two with both parents of Mexican descent and one with one parent of Mexican descent and the other of Hungarian descent. All of the others are representative of the majority population of this country. The one prerequisite for admission to the class was that the children not already speak Spanish. Although several of the children had been exposed to Spanish, all parents stated that in no case was Spanish used in the home. From casual observation of the children in the classroom, it can be unequivocally stated that all the children were monolingual speakers of English at the beginning of the school year.

The over-all reaction of the children to their experience in a Spanish K has been remarkably casual. They have behaved, according to the principal of the school, their teacher, and other observers, in no unusual (un-kindergarten-like) manner except they are responding to instruction in Spanish rather than English. The following questions were asked of parents of 15 of the children during the eighth month of the K year. Their responses, in the number indicated, provide some understanding of the children's reaction to the Spanish medium K.

a) Does your child like school? Yes 15 No 0

b) Does your child report on new Spanish words, stories, or songs that he has learned? Never 0 Occasionally 12 Frequently 3

c) Does your child express pride in learning another language? Never 4 Occasionally 6 Frequently 5

d) Does your child mention that he wishes the language of the class were English? Never 12 Occasionally 3 Frequently 0

The children appear to like school (a), but do not see that they are doing anything that is especially newsworthy (b), but do realize that they are learning a second language and most seem to feel that that is something to take pride in (c).

Three of the children have indicated on one or more occasions that they wished the teacher spoke English (d); however, the parents of these children reported that these wishes were expressed early in the year and haven't been heard during the second half of the school year.

It was not planned that the children would be subjected to massive testing during the K year. Rather, that their academic progress and degree of proficiency in Spanish would be tested at the end of their first grade and each year thereafter. However, to have some base line data on where the children stand at the end of the K year for later comparison, the following tests have been given:

1) Raven Progressive Matrices Test (Raven, 1965), a test of ability to reason by analogy.

2) Modified 'Berko' test to determine progress towards maturation in English grammar. (Berko, 1958).

3) Test of Scholastic Ability to Determine Reading Readiness: Form A (Harper-Row, 1966).

4) Test of Spanish vocabulary.

5) Modified 'Menyuk' test; repetition of Spanish sentences (Menyuk, 1963).

6) Cross Cultural Attitude Test (Jackson and Klinger, 1971).

The first of these, the Raven test, provided us one basis for matching children in the Spanish immersion K class with an equal number of K children in the same school who were following the normal English medium curriculum.

The results of the Berko-type test (a test of knowledge of morphological rules of English) given to 17 of the 19 children in the Spanish immersion class and their matched counterparts in the English K class suggests that the experience in the Spanish medium K has had no adverse effect on their English language development. Of a possible 561 correct responses the children in the Spanish language K gave 260 correct answers compared with 258 correct responses for the control group.

The Harper-Row Reading Readiness Test was required by the school for all K children. When the results are analyzed later this summer it is anticipated that the Spanish immersion children will demonstrate the same stage of preparation for the first grade curriculum as their counterparts in the regular K class.

The vocabulary test and the sentence repetition tests simply provide a basis for comparison of the children's knowledge of Spanish now, near the end of the K year, and their knowledge a year from now.

The Cross Cultural Attitude Test will provide some indication of the reaction of the children in the Spanish immersion K class to certain symbols of Mexican and US culture as compared to the reaction of the matched children in the control class to the same symbols. Although the results of the test have not yet been analyzed, raw scores on each of the items may be of some immediate interest. The scores are measures of positive reaction to 24 pictures, 11 of which are symbolic of Mexican culture, 11 symbolic of US culture and 2 which are neutral, namely, book and school.

MEXICAN SYMBOLS	SCORES FOR SPANISH IMMERSION CLASS	SCORES FOR CONTROL CLASS
1) Mexican flag	82	70
2) Mexican boy	54	51
3) Tortilla	85	61
4) Spanish word Sí	80	68
5) Chile pepper	41	51
6) Bullfighter	67	75
7) Piñata	86	75
8) Mexican girl	55	56
9) Taco	75	87
10) Soup (Menudo)	60	55
11) Sombrero	84	71

SYMBOLS OF US CULTURE	SCORES FOR SPANISH IMMERSION CLASS	SCORES FOR CONTROL CLASS
1) American girl	53	49
2) English word Yes	78	84
3) Soup	68	64
4) American boy	66	66
5) Hamburger	78	92
6) Pin-tail on donkey	85	78
7) American flag	90	83
8) Cowboy	81	85
9) Football	64	73
10) Bread	88	80
11) Pickle	57	87

NEUTRAL ITEMS	SCORES FOR SPANISH IMMERSION CLASS	SCORES FOR CONTROL CLASS
1) Book	72	76
2) School	87	78

The data from the attitude test and all other tests will be the subject of extensive study during the summer and a follow-up report will be ready by September, 1972.

In addition to the test data described above, we shall have a substantial amount of observational data collected by graduate students who served as volunteer teacher-aides during the academic year. The analysis of this data will be reported in a thesis at the end of the summer (Cathcart, forthcoming). It is anticipated that this study will add substantially to previous studies in second language acquisition.

In general, it can be stated that the children in the Spanish immersion class understand nearly all of the typical classroom instructions given to them by their teacher, which, of course, involves nearly the total range of Spanish phonology and grammar within a restricted vocabulary. This comprehension includes the language required in a large number of stories, songs, poems, games, simple mathematics, as well as the talk about classroom furniture and equipment, body functions, parts of the body, and members of the students' family.

Throughout the year the children have been completely free to use English with each other. Never has anyone insisted that they use Spanish, yet, as Cathcart's study will reveal, they have begun to produce sentences that are partly or completely Spanish--and to initiate conversations with the teacher in Spanish.

At this point in time there is every reason to be optimistic that the objectives set forth for this class will be met.

ENGLISH IMMERSION. The second class we will describe here is, except for one major consideration, a mirror image of the Spanish immersion class described above. That is a K class of Spanish-speaking children immersed in an all English curriculum, with a similar set of objectives, namely:

1) The children will acquire native-like competence in English.

2) They will make normal progress in the standard elementary-school curriculum.

Two other objectives were stated which accounts for the major difference between the two K classes:

3) The children will maintain and develop their proficiency in the home language (Spanish).

4) The children will maintain (and/or have the opportunity to develop) a positive self-image as representatives of the Spanish-speaking community.

To accomplish these last two objectives, a 20 to 30 minute segment of each school day during the year was reserved for activities conducted entirely in Spanish by a native speaker of Spanish. Again, the purpose of this exposure to Spanish was to encourage

maintenance and growth of the home language and culture as a part of the school program. It was not part of the design for this class that part of the normal K curriculum be given in Spanish. However, it is planned that during the 1st grade year, instruction in Spanish language arts will begin, and the Spanish component would increase in subsequent years.

The regular K teacher in this class presented herself to the children as a monolingual speaker of English and presented the regular K curriculum in that language. Again, this teacher had no special training in teaching children who spoke a language other than the language of the classroom. However, she too was invited to read the report by Lambert (1970). In addition, she attended a short seminar given by the author to a group of 8 - 10 teachers from her school during which a number of articles were discussed that demonstrated the power of teachers' attitudes and expectations in determining children's academic success (especially Rist, 1970; Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Lewis, 1970).

It was quite clear that the teacher was quite impressed by these articles, and it is believed that she was also quite optimistic about the chances of her Spanish speaking students in the English immersion program fulfilling the objectives set forth.

Of the 22 children in this class, two were born in the United States, one in Argentina, one in Colombia, one in El Salvador, eight in Cuba, and nine in Mexico.

No accurate measure of the children's knowledge of English when they entered K was possible, but a number of tests were given during the eighth and ninth months of the school year and will be useful for comparison purposes a year from now. Tests of language proficiency were:

1) A sentence repetition test in English (Menyuk, 1963).

2) A Berko type test for Spanish (Kernan and Blount, 1966).

The Metropolitan Achievement Test (required by the school) was also given as well as the Raven Progressive Matrices Test. As with the tests for the Spanish immersion K class, the results of these tests will be analyzed this summer.

The children in this K class appear to be completely comfortable in both the English curriculum offered by one teacher and the Spanish program offered by the other. Their level of English comprehension appears to be remarkably high and, as will be revealed from analysis of the observational data collected by R. Cathcart (forthcoming), their ability to produce English is at an advanced stage. However, it will be at least a year from now before more concrete measures of their English competence will be attempted.

On the basis of our subjective evaluation, we are satisfied with the children's progress in this K class. However, we look forward to future evidence that the objectives set forth have been met. Any of our colleagues who would be interested in our more formal report to be ready in September may write to: Mrs. Joan Samara, [illegible] Section, Department of English, University of California, Los Angeles, Cal. 90024.

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ABSTRACTS OF MATESL THESES

A Humanistic Approach to the Teaching of English Literature Overseas

Lynn Charles Bauman
(H. Bradford Arthur, Chairman)

The teaching of English literature overseas has always encountered certain difficult barriers, the most formidable being linguistic, cultural, and educational. The purpose of this study is to reexamine the problem of these barriers in light of humanistic educational theory and practice, and to construct a model for teaching literature based on insights from humanistic education which can be practically applied in overcoming these barriers. The first part of the study defines in detail what is meant by the term "humanistic education" as described by such educators and psychologists as Carl Rogers, Abraham Masslow, Neil Postman, Charles Weingartner, Terry Borton, and others. The second part of the study discusses the role of language and literature in the scheme of humanistic educational theory, and the sort of changes which must occur in these disciplines if they are to be taught in a humanistic frame of reference. The final section of the thesis deals with the practical aspects of teaching literature which will overcome the linguistic, cultural, and educational barriers. First, a four-phased bridge is designed to help transcend the cultural and linguistic barriers. Second, practical steps are outlined for overcoming the educational barrier and creating a facilitative learning environment in the classroom. Third, specific techniques, exercises, games, and questions are described as tools for the teaching of literature as a student-centered concern.

Ethiopa's Kafa Province: Realities of Language Use and Inperatives for Language Policy

Thomas Emil Beck
(Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

Ethiopia is a predominantly agricultural country, yet its schools are quite academic in tone. This has resulted in conflict between traditional society and the schools. This study sets out to discover the realities of language and life in one province of Ethiopia, and to present suggestions, even imperatives, for making the schools more relevant to the public at large.

Various sorts of realities are presented to show how language and culture are changing in the area. First, the social institutions of various ethnic groups are examined as a necessary foundation for any changes in traditional society. Second, a theoretical model of language contact is constructed, to aid the language policy-maker in understanding what phenomena to expect in a period of growing bilingualism. Third, actual language use in Kafa is examined, through the author's experiences there and through data from a recent survey. These viewpoints reveal dangerous linguistic and social divisions, particularly between urban and rural areas.

All of these realities make it clear that the schools must be radically changed if Kafa is to progress. The last chapter thus argues for emphasis on agricultural education and other more practical subjects, for the de-emphasis of English in the schools, and for a whole re-evaluation of such concepts as "modernization" and "development".

Abstracts

The Spelling Errors of Mexican-American High School Students Tested at UCLA

Neonetta Cabrera-Broussard
(Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to find out what sounds in American English are commonly misspelled by Mexican-American high school students and what spelling patterns are giving these students special problems. Four hundred eighty seven essays written by 487 Mexican-American high school applicants to the High Potential Program at UCLA during the school year 1969-70 were surveyed for spelling errors.

The frequency and percentages of occurrence of English sounds indicated in the Hanna et al study* was compared with the frequency and percentage of occurrence with which these sounds were misspelled. Given the total frequency of each phoneme in both studies, the percentage of occurrence of each phoneme in relation to all the other phonemes of the same classification (i.e., either vowel or consonant) was determined. They were ranked in terms of frequency from the most to the least frequent. This study resulted in a list of the first ten most frequently misspelled vowel sounds and a list of the first ten most frequently misspelled consonant sounds. These lists indicate what sounds in English should be taught and given special attention in preparing a spelling program for this particular group of students.

The frequency and percentage of occurrence which each phoneme-grapheme correspondence (or spelling pattern) attains in comparison with all the other graphemic options for a given phoneme indicated in the Hanna study (Tables 7 and 8) was compared with the frequency and percentage of occurrence of each misspelled phoneme in this study. The percentage of occurrences of each phoneme-grapheme correspondence attained in comparison with all the other graphemic options for a given phoneme-grapheme correspondence in both studies were compared and classified in terms of the following categories: Category A contains spelling patterns with high percentage of occurrence in English and high percentage of spelling errors: Category B contains spelling patterns with low percentage of occurrence in English and high percentage of spelling errors. Category C contains spelling patterns with high percentages of occurrence in English and low percentage of spelling errors and Category D contains spelling patterns with low frequency of occurrence in English and low percentage of spelling errors After each spelling pattern was compared and evaluated a list of spelling patterns for each of these categories was determined. A detailed listing of all the spelling patterns for each category together with an alphabetical list of words representing each pattern is provided in the Appendix.

Implications of the study and recommendations for further research were also made.

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*Hanna, Paul R., et al, Phoneme-Grapheme Correspondences as Cues to Spelling Improvement, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1966. (Table 9 and Table 10, pp. 40-41)

A Measure of Language Competence Using the Cloze Procedure

Ton That Dien
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to investigate the applicability of the cloze procedure as a measure of language competence. Three questions were raised (1) Is there any significant difference in the results between cloze tests given in the form of an original text and in that of a translation? (2) How well does the cloze procedure distinguish between a group's competence in their native language and in a foreign language? (3) Can cloze tests reveal problems of foreign learners?

Seven cloze passages of 40 items each were given to 12th grade students of three different language groups: American, Thai, and Vietnamese. The seven passages were also in three languages: English, Thai and Vietnamese.

It is found that relatively similar results were obtained from the tests given in the form of either an original text or translation. The American subjects got a mean score of 37.2 for the original passage, and an average of 35.2 for the

translation passages, whereas the Thais got 24.6 for the original passages and 23.6 for the translations, and the Vietnamese got 26.0 and 27.0 respectively. It is also found that the cloze passages distinguish fairly well between a group's comptence in their native language and in a foreign language. The Thais got an average mean score of 33.8 for the Thai passages, and 14.4 for the English passages, while the Vietnamese got 33.7 and 19.4 for the Vietnamese and English passages, respectively. Finally, the data proved that the cloze procedure did reveal several language problems of the non-native speakers. Table V shows that both the Thais and Vietnamese had difficulties with English adjectives, verb forms other than 'be', adverbs, and prepositions.

Testing American Indian Perceptions of English

John Wallace Dudley, Jr.
(Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

University English examinations place American Indians at low levels of proficiency. Not often measured is the high degree of receptive competence most Indians have developed through their sociolinguistic heritage. Thus a test was designed in which culture and learning styles could contribute to a more accurate picture of Indian capabilities in English.

The Perception Test contained 100 sentences written by Anglos whose first language was English and by Indians with a tribal mother tongue. Responding to sentential indications of linguistic interference, Ss assessed the grammaticalness of each item. This perceptual differentiation design evaluated the extent to which an Indian's language experiences and observational abilities have developed his competence in English.

Ninety-one Sherman High School Indians, 20 UCLA Indians, and a control group of 40 Anglos participated in the test. Education, first language, time of learning English, and tribal language proficiency were all found to be correlated significantly with test behavior. Although large test-performance differances obtained between Anglos and Sherman Indians, there was a surprisingly small separation between UCLA Indians and Anglos.

Subject and item perception Test reliability was .91 and .93, respectively, and over-all performance showed that this test gave American Indians a better opportunity to demonstrate capacities in English unmeasured by the majority of university examinations. Further research, instructional implications, and Perception Test/UCLA-ESLPE complementation are also discussed.

Materials for Developing the Reading Comprehension Skills of Junior High School ESL Students

Janet Gustafson Fisher
(Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

Studies of the reading comprehension levels of ESL students have indicated a great difference between their skills in literal and interpretive comprehennsion. Materials available have not only proven inadequate to the task of increasing comprehension skills, but do not reflect the cultural backgrounds or the interests of the ESL students for whom they are intended. The present study focused on the preparation of reading materials and exercises to develop the reading materials and exercises to develop the reading comprehension skills of junnior high school students of English as a second language by stimulating their desire to read.

Two surveys were conducted - one to determine the ESL student and teacher preferences for cultural content in ESL reading materials and the other to determine ESL student preferences for topic content. Based upon the results of the two surveys, stories were written by junior high ESL students and the author of this study. Revisions were made and comprehension exercises were developed. Five ESL classes at Thomas Starr King Junior High School then read the stories , did the exercises and evaluated them.

The results indicated that the new materials were preferred to the traditional ones by students and teachers. Teachers who have tested them agree that the new materials are superior to the traditional in being of interest to their pupils and to themselves. They state that the new materials are not only easier to teach but they helped them to attain objectives of communication and increased interest in reading.

Abstracts

A Synthesis of Current Research in Mexican-American Education

Ernest J. Garcia
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

In an attempt to explore possible solutions to educational problems facing Chicano students, to report the conclusions of relevant studies and to critically evaluate and appraise the literature on the subject of educating the Mexican-American, a synthesis of current research in Mexican-American education was undertaken.

The study covered four areas: Social-class and equality of educational opportunity; language and culture; bilingual-bicultural education; and teacher expectation.

The results of the study consistently manifested that the Chicano student is faced with problems both in and out of school. It was established that equality of educational opportunity, one of the most immediate problems facing the typical lower-class Chicano student, is directly related to such things as student-teacher ratios, teachers, salaries, classroom footage per pupil, school racial composition, and teachers' social class.

The findings of this investigation should prove useful to many persons, particularly school principals, administrators, and teachers who are directly responsible for the type and quality of education that Chicano students receive.

Coordinate Instruction in English Language Skills and Geography

Barbara Ann Gee
(Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

A set of twelve lessons was written based on the theory that English language skills can be acquired and reinforced through coordinate instruction with a content subject. At the same time the student was expected to acquire knowledge of those concepts and skills taught in the content subject - in this case, geography. By combining instruction in English and geography, the language skills were not taught in isolation but in a useful context.

Experimental studies pertinent to this thesis were reviewed. However, there has been little in the way of scientific experimentation to support the hypothesis that there is both acceleration of language learning and acquisition of skills and concepts in a subject area when a second language is used as a medium of instruction.

The materials for this project consist of twelve lessons based on a social studies text. They are intended for use with upper elementary and junior high school students studying English as a second language at the intermediate level of ability, students who have completed the beginning year of instruction in English as a second language. They are written for a general audience and not for a specific language group.

The materials were field tested in three elementary and three junior high school classes. Most of the subjects were native Cantonese speakers, although a variety of native languages was represented in the study. Pretests and posttests were constructed to cover English language structures and geographic concepts and map skills taught in the lessons. The tests were completely oral and, thus, not dependent upon the student's reading ability.

No statistical analysis of the data could be made because the posttest sample was inadequate. Because of this, there is no proof that the linguistic objectives of the lessons were achieved. However, the data do substantiate the claim that the geographic concepts and skills listed as objectives were taught through use of the lessons.

Teaching Strategies For Use in the ESL Class and in ESL Texts

Marc Steven Gold
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

It happens, unfortunately, that much of language instruction is carried out in complete disregard of what gives human communication its unique communicative potential. The result has been an undiminishing onslought of sterile methodologies that teach as though human beings were computers designed to feed back grammatical sentences much as unthinking sentence-generating pieces of machinery. What is needed, instead, are a philosophy and psychology of language which acknowledge human communication as the all-embracing symbolic transformation of reality that it is. The network of ties that links what perceptions tell us is real with the sounds and symbols that are a language--that is the challenge; to discover it, to describe it, and to teach it. And the learner who acquires this knowledge about another language has acquired a most important insight into its character, approaching very closely an aspect of native-speaker linguistic competence that has as yet been impermeable to analysis--precoding activity.

The nature and importance of this linking system and a manner of discovering and teaching it, will be the central concern of this thesis. It is hoped that by reading this thesis and carefully observing the examples that are given, the reader will understand and acquire the respect due this area of human communication, to the extent that he might attempt to create more powerful ESL instructional products based upon it.

English as a Second Language Testing and the Prediction of Academic Success

Tamar Tofield Goldmann
(Earl Rand, Chairman)

In an attempt to answer the question, "Does the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) predict success at UCLA, as reflected in the first-quarter grade point average (GPA) of entering foreign students?" I used two procedures: 1) test of significance of correlation betwenn ESLPE scores and GPA of entering foreign students. 2) Analysis of variance of mean GPA among four different levels of English proficiency as determined by the ESLPE.

To determine if other variables were affecting the results of these two tests, I analyzed differences in mean GPA and mean ESLPE scores, and correlations between the two for subgroups of several additional variables.

Graduates and undergraduates who took the UCLA ESLPE and first enrolled in UCLA in the fall of either 1969 or 1970 constituted the four samples for analysis. A test measuring change in GPA from first to fourth quarter was performed on the two 1969 groups.

The correlation studies showed Reading to be the most consistently valid predictor of GPA. Total score was less effective and Dictation was the least effective.

Students exempted from ESL classes achieved a higher mean GPA than those not exempted. Four quarters later this difference was no longer significant, but the meaning of this change is unclear.

Except for the variable, "Class recommended," subgroups showed no significant difference on mean GPA, but did show some differences in English proficiency. Previous exposure to English improved Dictation and Grammar scores. Different language groups showed different patterns of English proficiency.

Abstracts

Remedial Pronunciation Tape Library for Egyptian Students Learning English as a Second Language

Jerry Duane Green
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

This paper describes the development of a remedial pronunciation tape library and presents in its Appendix the thirteen lessons, in tape script form, that comprise the tape library.

The target audience is Egyptian university students whose English proficiency level, according to the University of Michigan Proficiency Test, is either Level I or II.

The pronunciation difficulties selected to be remedied are essentially restricted to the segmentals of English and are based on an error analysis of the tape recordings of 117 Level I and II Egyptian university students reading Clifford H. Prator's Diagnostic Passage and five supplementary sentences.

Each lesson specifically treats one pronunciation problem and is a self-contained remedial teaching unit. As such, each lesson is relatively independent of the classroom situation. However, it's designed to complement the classroom teacher, who, observing a persistent pronunciation difficulty of a student, can refer that student to a particular tape library lesson in the language laboratory in order to correct the pronunciation difficulty.

The Manifestation of Dialect Stylistic Variation by Speakers Pursuant to Role Appropriate Needs of a Given Audience

Pauline Brantley Griffin
(H. Pradford Arthur, Chairman)

A certain body of research by both educators and psychologists explicitly claims that lower class children (particularly Black) are linguistically deprived. A second and opposing body of research claimed that these children speak a language which is linguistically developed and distinct from standard English, without however asserting any inherent inadequacies in developmental language acquisition.

The present study investigates whether the linguistic performance of a lower class child exhibits distinct evidence of stylistic variation within the confines of a dialect. There is no investigation on a cross-dialectical comparative basis.

In the study one experiment on eight Black third grade subjects was performed using three tasks. The Ss were taught a simple competitive game, nonverbally. Immediately following the game each S was requested to teach the same game to three different audiences. The three audiences represented an adult, a peer, and a first grader. The function of the audience was to listen only. The Ss' monologues were recorded and divided in groups of three per S, then presented to a panel of judges. The judges were requested to assign one of the three tapes to each of the conditions, adult, peer, or first grade.

Finally, the monologues were analysed to determine frequency of terminable units, variation and distribution of imperatives (direct commands) and distribution of conditional clauses.

Analysis from both sets of data support the premise that distinct representation of stylistic variation within the dialect is exhibited at the $p<0.01$ significance level.

Rationale and Criteria for Use of Songs and Rhymes for Children Learning English as a Second Language

Elisabeth Anne Hakkinen
(Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

This study explores the viability of songs and rhymes as a tool for teaching English as a second language to elementary school children. Support for use of these materials is established by discussion of both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. After their role in language teaching has been demonstrated, some classroom uses and pedagogical suggestions are given along with a skeleton lesson plan.

Extra-linguistic and linguistic criteria for the choice of materials found in the appendix.

The paper was compiled from a variety of sources including English as a Second Language and foreign language materials and texts; works in elementary school language arts, music and speech; speech correction, choral speaking and children's literature texts, as well as the writer's personal experience teaching Spanish-speaking children English in the Los Angeles City Schools.

A Chinese Child's Acquisition of English Syntax

Joseph S. P. Huang
(H. Bradford Arthur, Chairman)

A 5-year-old Chinese child learned English as a second language from February 2 to June 5, 1970, at a West Los Angeles, English-speaking nursery school, where there is only random, rather than structured, presentation of English. The data were collected from two main sources: daily close observation at the nursery school, and weekend recording sessions. The data collection was aimed at the child's comprehension (including utterances supposedly addressed to him, his verbal and non-verbal responses), as well as his self-initiated utterances.

The data show that the child had two major learning strategies: he could use a well-formed sentence which he had learned as a single unit through mere imitation, and he could combine, in his own way, words he had learned to make an original sentence, namely, the strategy of sentence imitation and the strategy of his idiolect syntax.

It seemed that he tended to figure out the meanings of English utterances in terms of his first language, but there was no evidence that he depended upon his mother tongue in learning English syntax.

His performance has the characteristics both of that of a child learning his first language, and of that of an adult learning a second language.

Testing Knowledge of Prepositions by Using the Cloze Procedure

Nevin Inal
(John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

This study investigated the use of the cloze technique as a test of proficiency in English preposition usage. Four questions were asked: (1) Can a cloze test be constructed which is feasible, reliable, and valid by deleting only prepositions from a passage of prose? (2) Are the responses of the students with the same native language background different in distribution from the responses of students from a variety of language backgrounds? (3) Are responses from a group of students with the same native language background predictable on the basis of contrastive analysis? (4) Will a cloze test of English prepositions be of useful diagnostic information concerning trouble spots for non-native speakers?

A cloze test was constructed over a prose passage by deleting every other preposition (including prepositions used as verb particles or adverbs). This passage with 50 blanks was given to three groups: I. Native speakers of English, II. Native speakers of Turkish, III. Foreign students from mixed language backgrounds. Means and standard deviations for the three groups along with Kuder-Richardson (20) reliability coefficients were computed. The test was reliable for both groups of non-native speakers at above .90 for subjects and above .80 for items. Frequency distribution and item analysis were carried out for each group. As a further check on the relative distribution of responses for Group II and III, Spearman's non-parametric correlation was computed for the rank order of items by difficulty for each group. The efficient correlation was .61 significant at $p<.001$.

To check the validity of the cloze test, Pearson product-moment correlation were computed for the cloze scores and with the part and total score of ESLPE, UCLA. The significant correlation (.75) with the total score supports substantial confidence in the cloze technique as a measure of ESL proficiency, especially grammatical competence. Partial coefficients were also computed revealing a significant connection with grammar.

A traditional test item analysis of discrimination indices revealed a

significant contrast between speakers of one language background and speakers from a variety of native language backgrounds. A significant percentage of the responses of one language background were predicted by a contrastive analysis. A still larger percentage of responses of non-natives conformed to the native speaker norm. An analysis of cloze responses is believed to be a useful diagnostic tool with application in the teaching of ESL.

Student Achievement in Language and Subject Matter in Two Kenyan Primary School Curricula

Albert Kanake Kariuki
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

Kenya's elementary education consists of lower primary (grades 1-3) and upper primary (grades 4-7). The upper primary instruction is in English. About 60% of lower primary classes follows an English-medium course starting in grade 1 (EM 1)f the other 40% uses the vernacular, with English as a subject, and starts a changeover to English medium at grade 4 (EM 4).

EM 1 and EM 4 also differ in methodology. EM 1 methodology is activity oriented while EM 4 methods are traditionally prescriptive.

This pilot study investigates the hypothesis that EM 1 students will outperform their EM 4 counterparts significantly in respect to English proficiency and subject matter achievement at the end of primary school on the CPE (Certificate of Primary Education) examination.

The 1971 CPE Mathematics, English and General Knowledge, and an experimenter-designed Cloze test scores for 79 EM 1 and 82 EM 4 students of rural background were subjected to a statistical analysis for comparison. The tentative results indicated: (1) EM 1 and EM 4 students did not differ significantly in performance on any of the four scores, (2) boys outperformed girls in the CPE Mathametics, (3) repeaters outperformed non-repeaters, and (4) the two English tests yielded concurrent validity.

At the present time, the nature of EM 1 course books, discontinuation of EM 1 teaching techniques beyond grade 3, duration effects of upper-primary levels, and individual school differences are influential factors which suggest further research rather than a definitive statement of the findings of this study. However, a greater concern with equality of pedagogical opportunity at all levels warrants serious consideration.

A Contrastive Study of Tense Systems in Japanese and English

Keiko Kawai
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

This study compares and contrasts the verb forms of two languages, English and Japanese . Hopefully, the result will contribute to the solution of problems of second-language learning on the semantic or basic conceptual level, where utterances are precoded, a skill that is especially difficult for Japanese students learning English. Also, it should help the teacher and textbook writer, clarifying terminoligies and conceptualizations of time reference in English as compared to Japanese.

The research problems are:

(1) How does the English tense system work?

(2) Does Japanese have a tense system or does it basically organize its time relations in terms of an aspectual system?

(3) What are the specific differences in English and Japanese conceptualizations of time reference?

(4) Will a componential comparison of the two languages usefully identify and explain points of difficulty, with implications for foreign-language teaching in Japan?

The findings are:

(1) The so-called 'present' tense marker -u-ru and 'past' tense marker -ta-da are in fact aspect markers in Japanese.

(2) Japanese clearly marks perfect and imperfect aspect, while English is not always marked.

(3) Japanese students experience difficulty selecting from among verb forms that refer to different axes of orientation.

(4) Likewise, they have trouble observing co-occurrence requirements between time adverbials and verbs.

Preparing ESL Students for English Composition

Marisa Andreani Kiedaisch
(Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

This thesis presents a series of structures exercises for teaching some basic pre-composition writing skills to students at the intermediate language developmental level.

Eighteen short reading selections are used as the means for teaching vocabulary and grammatical structures in context and for eliciting correct responses to facilitate comprehension.

Each reading selection makes use of a number of sentences containing a specific grammatical structure to illustrate its use in context. In addition, each reading selection serves as a model upon which indicated transformational steps are applied by the student in his writing exercises. For each point of grammar there is a corresponding writrten exercise. More than one step can be applied to each passage to provide for individual differences in ability and rate of learning. Furthermore, each step can be used with different passages to provide for additional practice as needed.

The following are the steps developed in this paper:

1. Copy
2. Substitute word
3. Change to plural
4. Feminine/masculine
5. Supply synonym
6. Change to past tense
7. Change to future
8. Change to negative
9. Supply adjective
10. Supply adverb
11. Supply prepositional phrase
12. Reorder scrambled sentences
13. Conjoin with and
14. Conjoin with but
15. Subordinate with when
16. Subordinate with before, after, as soon as
17. Subordinate with because
18. Change direct to indirect speech
19. Change indirect to direct discourse
20. Change actor of the story to first person singular and/or give individual reaction in one or two sentences at the end of the selection.

Abstracts

The Effect of Practice on Performance on Dictations and Cloze Tests

Harriet Elaine Kirn
(John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

This study attempts to measure the effect of regular practice in dictations and cloze tests on performance in those activities. The subjects were 155 foreign students in ESL classes at UCLA in the Fall Quarter of 1971 and 44 ESL students in the University Extension. These students took the UCLA English Entrance Examination at the beginning of the quarter and a comparable examination at the end of the quarter, nine weeks later. The examinations consisted of comparable sets of dictations and cloze tests.

Eighty-five of the university students in five classes at three levels of ESL served as experimental students; the other 70 university and 44 Extension students served as controls. At each level, half the experimental students were given bi-weekly practice in taking dictations; the other half were given cloze passages to complete. All passages were chosen at random from various sources and were totally unconnected to other class activities. After the post-test at the end of the quarter, the average raw score improvement of all groups was calculated. It was found that there was no difference in the improvement rate of the experimental groups as compared to that of the control groups.

A short follow-up experiment was conducted with students in a low intermediate ESL class during the Winter Quarter of 1972. Controlled dictations and cloze passages, focusing on particular phonetic and grammatical points, were used extensively throughout the course in close coordination with other classroom activities. There were some indications that they were somewhat effective as teaching devices at this level of ESL.

Student Motivation for Learning English in Marathi-medium High Schools, Bombay

Yasmeen M. Lukmani
(Evelyn Hatch, Cha9r4an)

Marathi-speaking high school students (all female), from comparatively non-westernized families in an average income-bracket, were tested on English proficiency and the nature of their motivation for learning English. The results showed that Marathi-speaking students were instrumentally motivated to learn English and that instrumental motivation scores correlated significantly with English proficiency scores. That is, the higher their motivation to use English as a means of career advancement, ect., the better their English language scores.

Their concept of their own community and of westernized Indians, their self-concept and ideal self-concept were assessed on ratings of specific traits. Both the Marathi- and English-speaking communities were rated high, the English a little higher than the Marathi. Of the four groups, Marathi ranks lower than the English and then in ascending order, self-concept, English group and then ideal self-concept, but the total differences in scores were not significant. The English rather than Marathi group ratings were significantly related to ideal self-concept; but the traits on which English was marked higher were factual, relating to modernity and better standards of living which the Ss could acquire without becoming westernized. The two communities were their reference groups for different areas of their life; they saw themselves as based in their community but reaching out to modern ideas and life-styles.

Interaction Analysis in the English as a Second Language Classroom

Jane Lida Marks
(John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

The purpose of this study was to describe teacher-student interaction in the ESL classroom by means of the Flanders ten category system of Interaction Analysis. This system describes teacher influence as indirect or direct, the former assumed to maximize the students' freedom to respond, while the latter influence tends to minimize that freedom. The two categories of student talk were interpreted as either manipulative or communicative, respectively, as these parameters were more relevant in describing the goals of ESL instruction.

To collect data for the study, two non-random visits to each of nine UCLA

classes were made. These twenty minute observations took place in grammar-structure oriented classes. The tabulations obtained were processed by means of a comprehensive computer program which was designed to yield numerous indices which lend themselves to further interpretation, modification and research.

The overall findings of this initial study showed that while the percentage of total teacher talk was greater than that of total student talk, the percentage of indirect influence was higher than direct teacher influence. However, a glance at percentages and other included indices alone, affords no useful information without the interpretation of each category and variable in relation to one another and in terms of each classroom situation. The concensus among the participating teachers indicated that future training of both observers and teachers in the Flanders system can provide useful insights as to goals vis-a-vis learning outcomes, and that through such feed-back, behavior change may take place toward more effective teaching.

Language Competence as Measured by the Cloze Test

Victor Walter Mason
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

The study sought to determine the utility of the cloze testing procedure as a measure of language competence, when applied to a homogeneous group of Thai speakers in both the Thai and English languages. A total of 122 twelfth-year students at two public Thai high schools were administered one Thai and one English cloze test each. The tests were administered by a competent Thai supervisor.

Independent measures of the validity of the cloze tests used in this experiment came from two sources: 1) grades from the students, standardized final English examination, and 2) administration of the same English tests to a group of 35 American high school seniors. The results were then compared with those obtained in a parallel study with a second experimental group, of Vietnamese high school seniors, conducted by Ton That Dien. One English cloze test was common to both studies.

It was found, first, that the idiosyncrasies of Thai orthography present significant problems for the construction and scoring of a cloze test prepared in that language. Second, the Thai students made many mixtakes that could be evaluated at least partially by contrastive analysis. However, all three groups of subjects---Thais, Vietnamese and Americans---did comparably on cloze tests prepared in their respective native languages. Finally, although no clear superiority of Vietnamese over Thai subjects emereged from this study, it appeared, for many theoretical reasons, that Thais may have greater difficulties in learning English than do Vietnamese of similar maturity and educational levels.

A Contrastive Analysis of Parts of the English and Kirundi Tense Systems

Zacharie Mategeko
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

This study explores the basic syntax of the tense systems of English and Kirundi. Kirundi, a Bantu language, is the national and official language of Burundi, Central East Africa. At the same time, the study focuses on the relationships between morphological forms of verbs and their underlying meanings.

The first part deals with the morphology of verbs in Kirundi. The functions of tenses are described in discussing the use of verbs in simple sentences; auxiliary verbs are examined with emphasis on the classification of primary and secondary (modal) auxiliaries.

The second part of the study views the forms of English verbs; it then considers the major verb inflections: third person singular, past tense, perfective, and imperfective, as they are used to signal different syntactic tenses in English. Finally certain syntactic properties of auxiliaries are surveyed.

The third part of the study is a contrastive analysis of the use of tenses in the two languages, examining similarities and differences between the two systems and pedagogical problems implicit in the comparison, particularly those encountered by Kirundi speakers learning English, such as the use of the verb inflectional suffixes, the Present and Past tenses, etc.

Abstracts

A Contrastive Analysis of English and Korean Relative Clauses

Choon Shik Min
(Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

This thesis attempts to find out the similarities and differences between English and Korean relative clause constructions on the basis of which to identify the problems of the Korean speaker learning English relative clauses under the assumption that the grammatical features or rules which are not common in both the native language and the target language cause learning difficulty. It is also concerned with the establishment of a hierarchy of difficulty which may play a crucial role in preparing instructional materials on the part of the textbook writer as well as the teacher.

The different word order at the base structure level reveals that it is generally difficult for Korean speakers to learn English relative clauses. In English, there are quite a few language specific rules not existing in Korean, such as the Pied Piping Convention, Relative Pronoun Deletion, Relative Clause Extraposition, Modifier Shift, and so on. This implies that a meaning expressed one way in Korean is usually expressed in more than one way in English, and thus the structures generated by such rules may cause extremely difficult learning problems. Relative Clause Reduction in English is, in some cases, similar to Copula Deletion and Existential Verb Deletion in Korean. When this happens, the structures generated by the reduction rule are not so difficult to learn. English prenominal adjective constructions cause the least difficulty for Korean speakers, since they are very similar not only to actual Korean relative clause structures but also to Korean attributive constructions in terms of word order.

Political Orientation in Quebec and Achievement in English

Marguerite Morency
(Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

The present inquiry conducted in 1970 was undertaken to find out whether the unstable political climate in Quebec could interfere with the progress of the adolescent French-speaking Quebeckers learning English. It was hypothesized that there would be a negative correlation between the students' achievement in English and their separatist orientation: that is, that the students who entertained separatist convictions would not succeed as well in learning English as those who held a more federalist attitude.

The inquiry was made by means of a questionnaire distributed to grade eight and eleven boys and girls attending four French high schools in Quebec City. Students chose among seven propositions, going gradually from a firm federalist attitude to a definite separatist option. The students' IQs and English grades taken from a recent test were the measures used.

The data from 279 students was retained for analysis. It revealed that eighth-graders held a federalist attitude, that eleventh-graders showed some shifting towards separatism, that boys were slightly more independentist than girls.

The Spearman Rank Order correlation of English grades with separatist tendencies was calculated for the variables of IQ range, grade and sex. The results did not support the hypothesis: eighth-graders, except those whose IQ was higher than 120 , showed a moderate tendency in the other direction: students with more independentist convictions succeeded better in English; for other students, no definite pattern emerged.

In conclusion, separatism did not appear to interfere with achievement in English among adolescent French-speaking Quebeckers.

The Effect of FLES on EFL Achievement in Secondary School

Naoko Nagato
(John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

The present study focused on the possible long-term effects of a FLES program in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) on later performance in that same language in secondary school in Japan by attempting to determine whether students who had experienced a FLES program were more proficient in EFL than students who had begun EFL in secondary school.

Three cloze tests were administered to all the students enrolled in a private girls' secondary school in Kyoto at the seventh, the ninth, and the eleventh grade level. The tests were conducted by the EFL teacher during the EFL class period at the end of the school year, March, 1971. Fifty students were sampled randomly from each grade, and the cloze scores of FLES and non-FLES students were compared. The FLES group had been exposes to a six year sequence of EFL training at the elementary level, and the non-FLES group had begun EFL in the seventh grade. The controlled variables were the length of students, exposure to EFL instruction and the institution of their EFL training.

Results of an analysis of variance indicated that the long-term effect of FLES training was moderate. The FLES group significantly out-performed the non-FLES group at the seventh grade ($p<.005$) and at the ninth grade ($p<.05$). No significant difference between groups was indicated at the eleventh grade.

Sociolinguistic Survey of Languages in Education in Uganda

John Okeju
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

This study was undertaken to investigate problems associated with the current role of vernacular languages in education in the multilingual State of Uganda, with an attempt to determine when English could optimally become the medium of instruction in Primary school.

The data was gathered from two main sources: through background reading of past and current literature on opposing views of mother-tongue, and foreign-language (English) proponents. Secondly, a questionnaire, which was administered to 193 teachers and students in Teacher Training Institutions, provided information on attitudes, opinions and judgments of these students on this issue.

It was found out through this data: (1) that the different ethnic groups generally demanded to have their own vernaculars taught in their local schools: (2) that the six officially recognized vernaculars for education were not very popular in areas where they are second languages: (3) that nearly all (28 or so) different vernaculars are used for teaching in their own areas, but opinions differ significantly on whether they should be taught or used for instruction: (4) that attitudes towards Luganda and Swahili were favorable: only the Bantu favored Luganda, and both some Bantu and some non-Bantu favored Swahili: and (5) English was generally recognized as important for higher education. But on the choice of a language that would exclude the rest, Luganda attracted the highest vote. However, there was very limited evidence that vernaculars could function as teaching media only up to the third or fourth grade.

A Study of Teachers' Reaction Toward the Black and the Standard Dialects of English

Herbert Augustine Perkins
(Evelyn Hatch, Chairman)

This thesis discusses the educational disadvantage that lower-class students, especially black students, suffer because of the lower intellectual and academic expectations that teachers hold for them. It finds that one salient criterion that teachers use to establish levels of expectations for students is language.

The aim of the thesis is: a) to determine whether teachers display negative, stereotype attitudes toward speakers of black English, and b) to determine the interrelationship between teacher-background and teacher-judgments in respect to the language ability, scholastic ability, behavior, and future expectation of black

dialect speaking students. This aim is realized through an experiment which called for teachers to listen to taped monologues of Negro black dialect and standard dialect speaking students and to rate them on language, scholastic behavior, and future expectation traits using a semantic differential scale. The data from the experiment were subjected to a T-Test and analyzed. The results showed that teachers had significantly different judgments of the speakers because of their dialect ($p < .01$). Teachers who tended to be most negatively disposed toward the black dialect speakers, who gave lower, less favorable judgments of them, were the male, the young, and the least experienced teachers.

Creative Dramatics--A Pragmatic Approach to Second Language Learning

Patricia Fabian Rogosheske

(Russell N. Campbell, Chairman)

The objectives of this study are to present a rationale and to develop a model for the use of creative dramatics in the ESL classroom, and to describe the application of the rationale and the model to the instruction of Spanish-speaking children.

Literature from various related fields is surveyed to define the nature of the problems of Spanish-speaking children in United States schools, and to suggest the need for alternate approaches to their education.

A model for the use of creative dramatics in ESL is presented. A sequence of four creative dramatics activities is modeled from the literature on creative dramatics for native speakers of English. The procedures for using these activities in ESL are described.

Two weeks of creative dramatics lessons with fifth and sixth grade Mexican ESL students were videotape recorded in an East Los Angeles bilingual elementary school. Three ability groups--beginning, intermediate, and advanced--participated in the creative dramatics activities adapted for ESL students.

An analysis of the recorded lessons indicates that the children's knowledge of English is not related to their participation in these creative dramatics activities. The creative dramatics play of the three groups differs in the use of nonverbal and verbal communication, in the amount of English and Spanish verbalization, and in the type of situations enacted. A sample creative dramatics lesson by each group is related in detail.

Further exploration of the application of creative dramatics to other linguistic and cultural groups, to other age groups, and to teacher education is recommended.

The Viability of the Vernaculars as Media of Instruction in Ethiopian Schools

Tesfaye Shewaye
(Clifford H. Prator, Chairman)

Ethiopia is often considered one of the most under-developed countries in the world. In almost all categories of development---literacy, health, industry, and even agriculture---it stands far down on the list. Various factors, one of which is the education system, may account for such a deplorable state of affairs. The current education system of Ethiopia contributes little to the development of the country as it serves only a small segment of the school-age children, not the population as a whole. As a result, it has been observed that illiteracy is on the increase in Ethiopia.

Therefore, in order to stop this spread of illiteracy and to help the country develop, it is legitimate that education should be expanded to the rural areas. Such an expansion, however, suggests the need, among other things, for the use of vernacular languages as media of instruction. This thesis therefore attempts to explore the feasibility of using vernacular languages in education in Ethiopia by answering questions such as the following:

What is the general ethnic and political structure of Ethiopia? (Chapter 1)

Which are the vernaculars of Ethiopia and how varied are they? (Chapter 2)

What is the language policy of Ethiopia and how did it come to be adopted? (Chapter 3)

What is the current structure and organization of Ethiopian education and how is this affected by the language policy? (Chapter 5)

What are the issues involved in vernacular education? (Chapter 6)

Should or could Ethiopia adopt vernacular education? (Chapter 7)

Readability of UCLA Materials Used by Foreign Students

John Harry Street
(Earl Rand, Chairman)

This study investigates the readability of reading materials used in four levels of courses in the UCLA ESL program and compares them with a sample of materials that foreign students must read in regular university courses. Levels of difficulty are predicted by means of a formula incorporating factors that have been shown to influence reading difficulty.

The IBM360/90 computer is employed in this study to collect and tabulate data and compute statistical functions. First, data (in the form or totals, means, S.D.'s correlations, etc.) is extracted from each keypunched reading sample, then the computer reveals characteristics of and relationships between texts and groups of texts.

In general, the UCLA ESL reading materials seem to be well suited to the task of preparing foreign students to read texts in their fields of study. Suggestions for improvements in and selection of ESL reading materials and recommendations for further research are made.

A Rational for the Simplification of Literature for Use in ESL Classes and Simplification of "The Great Mountain"

Joanne Clark Strop
(John F. Povey, Chairman)

This study reviews the reasons for including literature in English as a Second Language programs and discusses the problems involved in such teaching. It presents a rationale for determinging some of the difficulties faced by ESL students when they attempt to read English literature and it establishes a procedure for removing some of the barriers to comprehension.

"The Great Mountains" from The Red Pony (1937) by John Steinbeck was simplified and the simplification was tested against the original using the cloze readability procedure. The average score on the simplification was 35.8% and on the original 21.3%. (A score of 44% on a cloze test is roughly equivalent to a 75% on a standard comprehension test.)

A collated version of the original and the simplification is presented for direct comparision.

Abstracts

Teaching English to Chicano Students: A Rationale for Change

Joseph Alexander Taylor
(Bradford Arthur, Chairman)

Traditional approaches of teaching English composition to Chicano students at all levels of instruction have failed to adequately improve the students' writing. This problem has its roots in the orientation of the public school system itself as well as in the educator's lack of knowledge of the Chicanos' linguistic characteristics and lack of sensitivity for the contributions to be made by these students to the English classroom.

This thesis has evolved out of the writer's two and a half years of teaching English in the High Potential Program at UCLA and involves the elaboration of seven principles which have been found to be particularly applicable to the Chicano student. It includes a discussion of the linguistic variation and educational background of the students as well as a study which indicates the extent of their recognition and production capacities with standard English. The final chapter describes the English curiculum used in High Potential which incorporates the principles discussed.

The paper has been written in the hope that other teachers, faced with similar classroom situations, might find constructive alternatives for the teaching of English and in the process become sensitized to the inherent contributions of the Chicano student.

Analysis of Reading Skills of Non-native Speakers of English

James Anthony Tullius
(John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

The present study investigated the use of eye-movement photography as a measure of reading skills for non-native speakers of English. Fifty subjects were tested from the International Student Program at the University of California at Santa Barbara. The hypothesis tested was that non-native speakers of English would perform significantly differently than native speakers of English. The results showed that the average foreign student reads well below the native speaker in rate (words per minute) with comprehension. Two other surprising facts appeared from the data: (1) the average number of regressions for non-native subjects reading college-level material is insignificantly different from (and sometimes superior to) the college-level native speaker norm, and (2) the average duration of fixation is consistently longer than for native speaker norms. Subjects who had an Indo-European native language background performed somewhat better than those whose native language was Non-Indo-European. Subjects who learned English as a second language read significantly better than those who learned English as a foreign language.

Language Switching of Japanese-English Bilinguals

Aiko Uyekubo
(Bradford Arthur, Chairman)

The task of this study was to investigate the capacity of coordinate bilinguals to switch fluently from one language to another in the middle of a conversation or even in the middle of a sentence. Two aspects of the problem were considered:

1) To investigate particular speech situations, (e.g., topic, interlocutor, tone) where Japanese-English bilinguals switch from one language to another.
2) To investigate how the syntax and lexicon of the two languages are combined to create a linguistic vehicle for a meaningful discourse with a fellow bilingual.

The subjects for the study were 12 adult coordinate bilinguals and 4 child bilinguals. Taped speech samples of bilingual speakers switching between Japanese and English in a natural setting were collected.

The following is a conclusion of the study of language switching and mixing of Japanese-English bilinguals:

1) Bilinguals have contextual constraints for each of the languages. Social variables-interlocutor, topic, and tone--

often determine the choice of code.
2) Language mixing is distinguished from language switching by the breakdown of correlation between the social variable and the choice of code. Mixing is used as a stylistic device to create a more meaningful communication.
3) There are certain linguistic constraints on language mixing, and thus, mixing is not random and grammarless.
4) Subjects were capable of mixing and unmixing; therefore, language mixing does not imply that a speaker is incapable of speaking two languages separately.
5) Bilingual children also performed similar sociolinguistic acts.
6) The basic distinction between mixing and either interference or borrowing is the speaker's ability to control his speech.

The Development of Cultural Consciousness through Literature

Donaldo Viana-Lopez
(John F. Povey, Chairman)

This study investigates a procedure to teach culture to the Colombian EFL student. The thesis proposed is that a student who is trying to learn the culture of the target language will best accomplish this by first becoming aware of the cultural patterns of his own society. He will learn the foreign culture via his native culture. This proposition is supported by analogy to the fact that when learning a new language, the student has to become aware of the nuances of his mother tongue to learn those of the foreign one by contrasting the two languages. This avoids the tendency of the learner to carry his native linguistic patterns into the new language. The same phenomenon is observed with culture.

Two literary works were chosen. A novella by a Columbian author, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, "No One Writes to the Colonel," (1969) El Coronel No Tiene Quien Le Escribe (1961), and a novel by John Steinbeck, In dubious Battle (1936). The analysis of the literary works presented in this study includes consideration of setting, theme, and plot. For the cultural analysis, four important aspects of culture were chosen: the psychological aspect, the economic aspect, the political aspect, and the sociological aspect. Comparisons of these aspects, as portrayed in the two literary works, were made, predicting the problems that the Colombian EFL student would have when studying the two literary works.

The method for using this analysis in the classroom consists of five steps to help the student gain awareness of his own culture and of the culture of the target language:

1. A literary work is presented to the student which is written in his own language by a Colombian to avoid the linguistic and cultural problems.
2. The same work is presented in the target language. The student focuses here on the linguistic difficulties.
3. A work from the culture of the target language is presented in the student's native language, Spanish. This work is written by an American. The cultural difficulties are encountered at this stage.
4. The work written by an American is presented to the student in English. The student now faces both the cultural and the linguistic problems simultaneously.
5. The student contrasts the cultural traits found in the Colombian novel with the ones found in the American novel.

Sarcasm: An Analysis of and Suggestions for Teaching the Recognition of Sarcasm to Non-Native Speakers

Joanne Marilyn Wallmark
(Lois McIntosh, Chairman)

This paper analyzes sarcasm linguistically and contextually, and offers suggestions for teaching the recognition of sarcasm to non-native speakers. The need for this study was made obvious by the confusion of foreign students attempting to comprehend sarcasm.

Abstracts

Because the recognition of sarcasm requires a knowledge of the target culture as well as the target language, sarcasm is extremely difficult for a language learner to understand, let alone master. Due to this complexity, the analysis here includes not only linguistic cues (syntax, lexicon, and phonology) but also contextual cues (culture, situations and purposes, and the speaker and hearer). This paper culminates in a series of lessons based on the preceding theoretical discussion.

The approach was eclectic with information synthesized from research into related literature (semantics, intonation, and anthropology) and from examples of sarcasm in different situations, both spoken and written. According to the information gathered in this paper, a knowledge of context is more important than the knowledge of linguistic cues for the recognition and appropriate use of sarcasm. It was also concluded that the teacher of sarcasm should be a native speaker.

Replication and Modification of an Indirect Measure of Oral Output

Robert Charles Weissberg
(J. Donald Bowen, Chairman)

This study was undertaken to explore the nature and degree of relationship between aural and oral proficiencies in learners of English as a second language. It consists of a replication of an "indirect measure of oral output" first designed and tested in 1969.

The test is indirect in that it attempts to measure a non-native speaker's ability to produce English speech by having him identify recorded voices as those of either native or non-native speakers of English. The original test consisted of the voices of fifty speakers of English, twenty-five natives and twenty-five non-natives, recorded on a test tape. That test is here modified through the addition of ten new items and preparation of four alternate forms of the test tape.

The new test was administered to 159 non-native students of English as a second language and to two groups of twenty-five native speakers of English. Results indicate that although there is some positive correlation (.55) between the indirect measure and speaking proficiency ratings, it is not high enough to justify using the indirect measure in place of ratings based on oral performance of subjects.

A detailed item analysis was made of the scores to determine the relative levels of difficulty of the particular items. It was found that discrimination between native and non-native subjects was better on those items more difficult for both groups. However, it was found that as non-native items approached a norm for native speakers, they were less effective as discriminators.

It was further found that non-native subjects of a particular first-language background would not predictably perform better or worse on items spoken by fellow speakers of the same first language than would non-native subjects of other first-language backgrounds.

Dictation as a Testing Device

Seid M. Ziahosseiny
(John W. Oller, Jr., Chairman)

The purpose of this study has been to determine the validity of dictation in testing language skills. Three experiments were done on three groups of foreign students taking the UCLA ESLPE.

The study revealed that dictation is not merely a transcription of sounds into the graphic symbols, but a performance that requires the comprehension of the sequence of sounds as well. It also indicated the students' linguistic feedback on acquiring new linguistic functions. Students who speak languages close to English in graphic symbols experience more difficulty in learning the new phoneme-grapheme relationship than those whose background language has a non-Romanic alphabet.

The study demonstrated a positive relationship between the constraint upon words in dictation and the length, structure, and comprehension of the sentence. It also indicated that the task of taking dictation has a positive relation with the interrelationship of the entire group of words in the sentence rather than merely the individual words.